

THE EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY

(Continuation of *Eastern Churches Number of "Pax,"*
founded 1931.)

VOL. II.

APRIL, 1937.

No. 2

THE ORTHODOX AND ANGLICAN ORDERS

II.

(continued.)

NOW we will set forth the teaching of the Orthodox Church on the Real Presence and the Holy Eucharist. *The Catechism of Peter Mogila*, Metropolitan of Kiev (1632—1645). This Catechism was approved by the four Patriarchs in 1643 (nearly a hundred years after the publication of the Second Prayer Book). In this we read the following statement concerning the Blessed Sacrament:—

“ The Holy Eucharist, or the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the visible species of Bread and Wine ; wherein, really and properly, and according to the Thing itself, Jesus Christ is present,” and “ In the moments of consecration of the Holy Gifts . . . the substance of the Bread and the substance of the Wine are changed into the very substance of the very Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. . . . At these words there is wrought a change (*μετοιώσις*) in the elements, and the Bread becomes the very Body of Christ, and the Wine His very Blood ; the species (*ταξίδη*) only remaining which are perceived by the sight.”¹

Thirty years later Dositheus Patriarch of Jerusalem (1669—1707) drew up his *Confession* which was promulgated with the Acts of the Synod of Jerusalem. In this we read :—

“ In the celebration of this Sacrament we believe our Lord Jesus Christ to be present not typically or figuratively, nor by a greater degree of grace as in the other sacraments, nor by a bare presence, as some of the Fathers speak concerning

¹ Quoted in *The Relations of the Anglican Church with the Eastern Orthodox*.
J. A. Douglas. p. 73.

Baptism¹; nor by conjunction, whereby the Divinity is substantially united to the Eucharistic Bread, as the Lutherans foolishly and wretchedly suppose; but truly and really. For the Bread and Wine after consecration are changed, transubstantiated ($\muετρονοῦσθαι$), converted, transformed, the Bread into the true Body of our Lord which was born in Bethlehem . . . the Wine also is changed and transubstantiated into the very Blood of our Lord which, as He hung on the Cross, flowed from His side for the life of the world. Also the Bread and Wine being consecrated we believe that the substance ($\tauὴν οὐσίαν$) of Bread and Wine remain no longer but the very Body and Blood of our Lord, under the form and figure of Bread and Wine, that is under the accidents of Bread. . . . Also, that the Body and Blood of the Lord is broken and divided by the hands and teeth, but by accident only; that is in the accidents of Bread and Wine, under which we also confess them to be visible and tangible.”²

The Longer Catechism of Philaret, Metropolitan of Moscow (1821—1867). Canon Douglas remarks that after much controversy it was revised and approved by the Holy Synod, and is marked by the elimination of phrases and expressions formerly borrowed by Russian theologians from Latin sources.

In this revised and approved book we read:—

“The most essential part of the Liturgy is the utterance of the words which Jesus Christ spoke in instituting the Sacrament: ‘Take, eat, this is My Body.’

“At the moment of this act, the bread and wine are changed,

¹ Martin Bucer in his nine propositions, published in 1530, said:

(iv) “As by baptism there is the power of regeneration so the very body and blood of Christ are ‘exhibited’ (*exhiberi*) by the symbols of the Eucharist.”

(vi) “He is really and actually present in the Supper . . . through symbols that are received by faith.”

Dr. Darwell Stone explains his doctrine as follows:

“Like Luther, he asserted that the communicant received the body and blood of Christ. Like Zwingli, he denied that the body and blood are united to the sacramental signs. His own view appears to have been that the communicants receive in the Sacrament only bread and wine, but that their faith, when they receive the elements, uplifts them to a real spiritual participation of the body and blood of Christ in heaven.”

Cranmer in his book on the Eucharist published in 1550 said:

“Christ in His human nature is substantially, really, corporally, naturally and sensibly present with His Father in Heaven . . . yet sacramentally and spiritually He is here present. For in water, bread and wine, He is present as in signs and sacraments; but He is indeed spiritually in those faithful Christian people which according to Christ’s ordinance be baptised or receive the holy communion, or unfeignedly, believe in Him.”

Messenger, op. cit., pp. 162, 426.

² Douglas, op. cit., p. 74.

or transubstantiated, into the very Body of Christ, and into the very Blood of Christ.

“ In the exposition of the Faith by the Eastern Patriarchs, it is said that the word ‘ transubstantiation ’ is not taken to define the manner in which the bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of the Lord ; for this none can understand but God ; but only this much is signified, that bread, truly, really and substantially becomes the very true Body of the Lord, and wine the very Blood of the Lord.”¹

Dr. Gavin after reviewing the works of the more recent Greek Orthodox theologians on the doctrine of the *Change or Transubstantiation* sums up thus :—

“ Essentially there then is no distinction in the Orthodox teaching between the Orthodox doctrine of transubstantiation and the Roman doctrine, the only difference on this point between West and East being one of temperament ; the Orthodox disavows any attempt to explain the manner of the Change, but uses the term and maintains the theory of *transubstantiation*. Such evidence as that of the Symbolic Books—some implicitly, others (Mogila and Dositheus), explicitly—of many ecclesiastical writers, and all modern theologians (except Dyobouniotes), to the fact that the doctrine of *transubstantiation* is part of the official teaching of the Orthodox Church, tends to discredit the contentions advanced by Dyobouniotes. In short, the teaching of the Orthodox Church as to the Real Presence is indistinguishable from that of the Roman Church as defined in the Council of Trent.”²

¹ Longer Russian Catechism, pp. 90–92, quoted by Douglas, op. cit., p. 146.

² Some Aspects of Contemporary Greek Orthodox Thought by Rev. F. Gavin, p. 336. Dr. Gavin was an Assessor to the Conference in Bucarest in 1935. Speaking about the definition of Trent, Dr. Messenger says :

“ There is one point to which we here call attention, and that is, that in the above very careful formulation of her official doctrine, the Catholic Church has abstained from using terms which imply the Aristotelian, Thomist or Scholastic views of substance and accidents. She does not define that the ‘ accidents ’ of bread and wine remain, but deliberately chooses the more general term ‘ appearance ’ or species.” Messenger, op. cit., p. 210.

This distinction between the teaching of Trent and the discussions of the Schools should be borne in mind when considering the terms *Transubstantiation* (*Μετονοίωσις*), and the Russian translation *Presushchestvlenie*. Philaret’s translation of Dositheus’ Confession rendering the disputed passage thus :

“ Further we believe that after the consecration of the Bread and Wine, the very Bread and Wine no longer remain, but the very Body and Blood of our Lord under the *appearance* or form of Bread and Wine. The Body and Blood of our Lord are divided and separated, yet this takes place in the mystery of the Communion only with respect to the species of Bread and Wine through which alone they may be seen and touched.”

Birkbeck and the Russian Church, p. 355. This is quite in keeping with Catholic Doctrine.

From the doctrine of the Real Presence we pass on to that of the Sacrifice of the Mass.

We quote Dositheus :—

“ So that there be many Eucharists celebrated in the world at one and the same hour, there are not many Christs or many bodies of Christ, but one and the same Christ is present in all and every church of the faithful, and there is one Body and one Blood. Not that that Body of the Lord which is in heaven descends upon the altar ; but because the bread which is laid on the altar, and there offered in every church, is by consecration changed and transubstantiated and made one and the same with that which is in heaven. For there are not many but one Body of the Lord in many places. And for this reason chiefly this Sacrament is, and is called, wonderful and comprehensible by faith alone, and not by the trifling reasonings of man’s wisdom whose vain and foolish reasonings our pious and divinely taught religion despises. . . . It is also a true and propitiatory Sacrifice which is offered for all the faithful, both living and dead, for the benefit of all, as is expressed in the prayers of this Sacrament which the Apostles according to the power they received of the Lord have delivered to us. . . . This Sacrament of the Eucharist can, as we believe according to the Doctrine of the Oriental Church, be made by none but by a pious priest, and one who has received his character of priesthood from a pious and lawful Bishop.”¹

Coming to the more recent Greek theologians Dyobouniotes says, speaking of the essence of the sacrificial character of the Eucharist :—

“ But it is not merely a representation of the death of our Lord, but an actual and real Sacrifice, in which the Offerer and the Victim are one and the same, our Lord, even if the Sacrifice be offered by the priest.”

And Androutsos says :—

“ The Eucharist is not a new act of immolation of Jesus Christ different from that of Golgotha as to its content and its power, but a new representation before God of that sacrifice made once for all, and a new mystical (sacramental) reiteration of it. The sacrifice of the Eucharist is both a re-presentation of the Sacrifice of the Cross and also itself an actual Sacrifice. It is a representation in that by the consecration of the bread and wine it presents or symbolises the bloody Sacrifice, the actual separation of the Body and Blood . . . on the Cross. It is an actual sacrifice in that Jesus Christ, the Great High Priest, really present in the

¹ From the *Epistle of the Eastern Patriarchs* quoted by George Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East in the Eighteenth Century*.

The Orthodox and Anglican Orders 57

Eucharist, consummates on earth what He does in Heaven.”¹ We think that these quotations fairly represent the teaching of the Orthodox Church on the doctrines of the *Real Objective Presence* of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, and of the *Sacrifice of the Mass*.

We know, however, that since the time of Khomyakov (1804—1860) there has been a school of Orthodox theologians which would disown the term *transubstantiation*² on the ground that it is out of keeping with the genuine Tradition of the Christian East, and would say that its use by the Patriarch Dositheus in the seventeenth century was due to controversy with the Calvinists. This we are willing to concede, but we would point out that it is important to note the reaction of Orthodoxy when confronted by the *Protestant Reformation*. She used terms in defence of her teaching which at one and the same time were understood by the West and safeguarded her own belief in the Objective Presence of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament. It is one thing for modern Orthodox theologians to repudiate a theological term because they say it is alien to their traditional mode of thought while retaining a right belief in the doctrine itself. It is quite another thing for the Reformation theologians to repudiate a current theological term of their own mode of thought precisely because they rejected the doctrine it stood for.

We will now pass on to consider how it is possible for some Orthodox to accept the validity of Anglican Orders by way of *Economy*. Here we give the current Orthodox teaching in regard to *Economy*; we are not concerned as to whether their claim that it is the Patristic teaching of the Church is just or not.³ Professor Dyobouniotes published a *thesis on the Sacraments* at Athens in 1913 in which he explains the doctrine thus:—

“The Church, as holding stewardship of God’s Grace, has power by *Economy* to recognise the priesthood and the

¹ Quoted by Gavin, op. cit., pp. 348 and 350.

² Father Sergius Bulgakov in *The Orthodox Church* says “The Church teaches that the bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, given in the Holy Supper. But Orthodoxy does not agree with the Latin doctrine of transubstantiation that distinguishes the substance, which changes, from the accidents, which do not change” (p. 134).

This school of theologians take up the position of St. John Damascene: “If you ask, how the bread becomes the Body of Christ and the wine and water His Blood? I say, the Holy Spirit descends and achieves it, above reason and comprehension The bread and wine are not ‘types’ of His Body and Blood but His Body and Blood in very fact.” (*Ἐκδοσις*, iv, 13).

This was not the teaching of the English Reformers.

³ It is obvious that there is no room in this short article to discuss fully the doctrine of *Economy*, important though it is. However, the articles of Dom Ralph Russell in the July and October issues of the *EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY* of last year bear on the subject, especially the October issue.

Sacraments of schismatics and heretics. In the exercise of this *Economy* the Church not only takes into her consideration the general faith of the schismatics and heretics who approach her, and especially both their faith as to the Priesthood and Baptism, and the canonicity of their rite, but also (requires) no breach in their episcopal authority from the time of the Apostles. Thence it is to be observed that by a usage, which obtains very frequently, the Church regards as invalid the Priesthood and Baptism of all those schismatics and heretics among whom the Apostolic Succession has failed or has been interrupted, or among whom the Faith in general and especially the Faith concerning the Sacraments or the canonicity of their rite has been perverted, while she accepts the Priesthood of schismatics and heretics among whom the Apostolic Succession has not been broken and among whom neither the Faith in regard to the Sacraments, nor the canonicity of their rite has been perverted. It must be borne in mind, however, that, as holding stewardship of the Divine Grace, the Church is able both to recognize the Priesthood and the Sacraments in general of schismatics and heretics among whom they are not accomplished canonically or the Apostolic Succession has been broken, and also for reasons which she herself regards as reasonable and necessary, to reject altogether the Priesthood and the Sacraments of schismatics and heretics among whom they are accomplished canonically and the Apostolic Succession has not been broken."

After saying that "Ecclesiastical Economy has not been investigated or defined among us in detail or authoritatively," he offers this explanation:—

"The Church, as having the stewardship of Grace and being the ruler of the Sacraments, has the power to transform the validity of the Sacraments by establishing the invalid as valid and the valid as invalid."¹

Professor Androutsos makes an interesting remark on the subject: after stating that

"No ecumenical or local Council has laid it down, nor is it generally defined, anywhere, how far the mutilation of the outward act of a Sacrament may go without harm and how far, on the other hand, it cannot go without making the Sacrament of Ordination null and void,"

he arrives at the conclusion that, as "the outward invocation of the Three Persons forms the essential and unchangeable factor in the *economical* acceptance of Baptism," so in Ordination "the outward act—which includes everything that since Apostolic times is assumed as necessary for the due canonical performance of the ceremony—is an essential factor for the

¹ Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 and 60.

valid efficacy of the Sacrament."¹ Such then is the Orthodox doctrine of *Economy*.

"All who sever themselves from the Church or mutilate the Faith, or in any way fall away from it, lose both the Apostolic Succession in doctrine and in the priesthood."²

This is the strict status of those outside of the Orthodox Church, yet as we see from the above she generally accepts as valid by *Economy* the priesthood of those Christian Churches whose Apostolic Succession is certain and whose doctrine on the Sacraments and the Holy Eucharist is sound.

The general attitude of the Orthodox to Anglican Orders is that they take for granted the canonical side in the consecration of Archbishop Parker but have doubts as to the correctness of the Anglican teaching about Orders and the Sacraments in general. On these points they demand a definite statement on the part of the *whole* Anglican Communion.

The two following comments found in Birkbeck's book will help us to understand the Orthodox attitude to the Anglicans. The first is a quotation from Professor Sokolff's work on Anglican Orders. Having said that the *visible side* of Lutheran ordinations is entirely *sufficient*, he asks the question why the Orthodox Church rejects Lutheran Orders as invalid:—

"Just because Lutheranism has preserved nothing but the external (side) of ordination, and has completely changed its inward signification. It has rejected the hierarchy in the sense of its being a body of men invested by God with special Divinely-bestowed powers, has excluded *χειροτονία* (Orders) from the number of the Sacraments, recognising in it only a mere rite, while its spiritual pastors it regards merely as persons elected to perform certain official duties, but not as possessing any rights given them from above, or Divinely-bestowed qualification, such as in their very essence would raise them above the rest of the faithful. It is self-evident that under conditions such as these, no matter how satisfactory the order of the Lutheran ordination services may be, there remains in them nothing but external form, without its essential inward meaning. But a form without contents cannot, of course, have the requisite value."³

¹ Douglas, op. cit., pp. 58 and 59.

² Douglas, op. cit., p. 59. We have had the matter explained thus by a Greek Orthodox priest. A bishop through schism or heresy may lose the right to function as bishop and be ranked as an ordinary monk, but on his reconciliation he would exercise his Order without re-ordination of any sort, since he retained the *power* of Holy Order. If however he sinned against the Holy Spirit—and disbelief in the sacrament of order would be considered such a sin—he would entirely lose the *power* of the episcopate and would have to be re-ordained at his reconciliation.

³ Birkbeck and the Russian Church, pp. 281 and 282.

This is precisely our own charge against Cranmer and his work in England.

The second comment is Birkbeck's own. He says:—

“ . . . the attitude of the Orthodox Church towards other Christian bodies is profoundly affected by Liturgical considerations. With her the maxim *Lex supplicandi, lex credendi*—the principle that the belief of the Church is best set forth in its public worship and prayers—is much more of a reality than it is in the West, where liturgical forms are far more meagre and bare. In the Eastern Church all the dogmas of the Church are set forth in the clearest way in the everyday services of the Church.” . . . “ To apply this fact to the exigencies of the present day, I would say that as a matter of fact the Easterns in the views which they take of the English Church are much more influenced by what they actually find takes place in our services, than by all the learned works that have ever been written upon the subject of the Anglican position.” . . .

“ I believe that the whole question of the ultimate reunion between East and us rests upon the principle of *Lex supplicandi, lex credendi*. Thus, for instance, the orthodoxy of the Catholic Revival upon the subject of the Eucharist was lately defended by one of our friends in Russia mainly on the ground that when he was in England, in certain churches, he found the Holy Sacrament reserved for the sick.”¹

One wonders what the comments of the Russian would have been if he had visited the Church of England before the Oxford Movement had produced the Catholic Revival!

These two comments we think are of the greatest importance. The *bare rite* of the Lutherans is, in spite of rejecting the former Catholic rite, *sufficient* in the eyes of the Orthodox but is nullified by its want of a Catholic *inward significance*. And the Lutherans remain the same to-day. Whereas the almost equally *bare rite* of the Church of England is also *sufficient* but its *inward significance* which at the time of the Reformation was undoubtedly Protestant is considered by some Orthodox to be *sufficient* because of the Catholic Revival of the Oxford Movement!

Lastly we must briefly deal with Anglican Authorities and Orthodox doctrinal definitions. We give the statement of the Rumanian Commission to the Anglican Delegation concerning the Holy Eucharist:—

“ 1. At the Last Supper, our Lord Jesus Christ anticipated the Sacrifice of His death by giving Himself to the Apostles in the form of bread blessed by Him as meat and in the form of wine blessed by Him as drink.

¹ Birkbeck, op. cit., pp. 238 and 239.

2. The sacrifice offered (*προσενέχθεῖσα*) by our Lord on Calvary was offered once for all, expiates the sins as well of the living as of the dead, and reconciles us with God. Our Lord Jesus Christ does not need to sacrifice Himself again.
3. The sacrifice on Calvary is perpetually presented in the Holy Eucharist in a bloodless fashion (*ἀναιμάτως*) under the form (Rumanian, *sub chipul*) of bread and wine through the consecrating priest and through the work of the Holy Ghost in order that the fruits of the sacrifice of the Cross may be partaken of by those who offer the Eucharistic Sacrifice, by those for whom it is offered, and by those who receive worthily the Body and Blood of the Lord.
4. In the Eucharist the bread and wine become by consecration (*μεταβολή*) the Body and Blood of our Lord. How? This is a mystery.
5. The Eucharistic bread and wine remain the Body and Blood of our Lord as long as these Eucharistic elements exist.
6. Those who receive the Eucharistic bread and wine truly partake of the Body and Blood of our Lord."

This statement had been drawn up in the June of 1935. Previous to this at the Lambeth Conference of 1930 the Orthodox Delegation, whose leader was Meletios the late Patriarch of Alexandria, discussed these questions among others with a Sub-Committee appointed by the Conference. At the third meeting of this Committee the following question was put forward by the Orthodox :—

" Does the Anglican Church agree that the Bread and Wine become the Body and Blood of Christ and that the rendering of the Eucharist is a spiritual sacrifice, propitiatory for the living and the dead? "

The Bishop of Gloucester replied that the Church of England at the time of the Reformation was concerned to reject a material interpretation of the Eucharist and the doctrine of Transubstantiation as taught by Latin Divines in the Middle Ages. This must be borne in mind in discussing the Anglican doctrine of the Eucharist. He said that the best statement of the doctrine was contained in :—

(i) The Catechism, as follows :—

Question : What is the inward part, or thing signified?

Answer : The Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.

- (2) The following statement in Article XXVIII :—
The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after a heavenly and spiritual manner.
- (3) The doctrine of the Eucharist as expressed in the Anglican Liturgy. The Liturgy in different Anglican Churches took a different form. The Prayer of Consecration in the Scottish and American Liturgies contained the Epiclesis. The Proposed Prayer Book of 1927 and 1928 also contained it.

The Patriarch Meletios asked whether after Communion the consecrated Elements remaining were regarded as the Body and Blood of Christ. The Bishop of Gloucester and other Bishops said "Certainly."

Concerning Propitiation the Bishop of Gloucester said that the Church of England was again opposed to any doctrine which implied that the Sacrifice (of the Cross) was not once for all offered for sins. The Answer of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to Leo XIII's Encyclical on Anglican Orders is quoted as the best statement of the Sacrifice of the Eucharist :—

" Further, we truly teach the doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice, and do not believe it to be a 'nude commemoration' of the Sacrifice of the Cross, an opinion which seems to be attributed to us by the quotation made from that Council. But we think it sufficient in the Liturgy which we use in celebrating the holy Eucharist—while lifting up our hearts to the Lord, and when now consecrating the gifts already offered that they may become to us the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ—to signify the sacrifice which is offered at that point of the service in such terms as these. We continue a perpetual memory of the precious death of Christ, Who is our Advocate with the Father and the propitiation for our sins, according to His precept, until His coming again.

" For first we offer the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving ; then next we plead and represent before the Father the Sacrifice of the Cross, and by it we confidently entreat remission of sins and all other benefits of the Lord's Passion for all the whole Church ; and lastly we offer the sacrifice of ourselves to the Creator of all things which we have already signified by the oblation of His creatures. This whole action, in which the people has necessarily to take its part with the Priest, we are accustomed to call the Eucharistic Sacrifice."

The Archbishop of Dublin observed that the word *Propitiation* had misleading associations for Anglicans on account of the Roman doctrine of Pains and Penalties, and much preferred the Greek word *Hilasterio*.

The Patriarch then stated that if they were able to agree on the last words of the question, "for the living and the dead," they would be agreed entirely.

The Bishop of Gloucester stated that at the Reformation the Church of England had been hesitating on the doctrine of the use of prayers for the dead. . . . He said that the offering of prayers for the departed was now common.¹

In conclusion we cannot but rejoice that a large and representative number of the Bishops of the Church of England feel themselves able to subscribe to the Orthodox statements of faith on the Holy Eucharist and the Sacrifice of the Mass, especially the statement of the Rumanian Commission, thereby reversing the doctrines as taught in their sixteenth century formularies. This change, the outcome of the Oxford Movement, however cannot alter Rome's judgment on the validity of Anglican Orders. We are forced to say with Father Congar, "as Aristotle said, 'what has been *has been*' ; the tragic past is a heritage which cannot *not* have been."

If the Anglican Bishops will teach the doctrine they have subscribed to as the *present official belief of the Church of England* they will indeed do much for the cause of Unity. We are, however, bound to remember that the Bishop of Gloucester headed the Commission to arrange for the Intercommunion of the Church of England with the Church of Finland whose Apostolic Succession the Orthodox deny. Also the Bishop of Lincoln (the chairman of the Anglican Delegation to Rumania) speaking in the Convocation of Canterbury said :— "that to his mind, the most significant contrast between Christians in the West, Protestants and Catholics alike, and

¹ This is all quoted from the report of the Minutes of the Conference in *The Christian East*, Spring, 1931, pp. 35-38

- (i) As regards *Propitiatory Sacrifice* (*θολαὶ αὐτερπις*) the Orthodox offer the Holy Sacrifice for *special intentions* and for the dead just as Catholics do. *The Dyptichs* of the dead are given great prominence in all Eastern Liturgies.
- (ii) As regards the above quotation from the Catechism, the following is a statement regarding the Presence of Christ found in the Catechism published at the same time as the *Forty-Two Articles* :

"As touching the bodily presence of Christ here in earth (if it be lawful to place in comparison great things with small), Christ's body is present to our faith ; as the sun, when it is seen, is present to the eye ; the body whereof, although it do not bodily touch the eye nor be presently with it together here in earth, yet is it present to the sight, notwithstanding so large a distance of space between. So Christ's body, which at His glorious going up was conveyed from us, which hath left the world and is gone unto His Father, is a great way absent from our mouth, even then when we receive with our mouth the holy sacrament of his body and blood. Yet is our faith in heaven, and beholde the Sun of righteousness, and is presently together with him in heaven, in such sort as the sight is in heaven with the body of the sun, or in earth the sun with the sight."

the Christians in the East lay in the fact that, where the West spoke of 'Sacraments,' the Orthodox spoke of 'Mysteries.' The use of the word 'Sacrament' was bound to provoke the question: What did they mean? Whereas the very word 'Mysteries' discouraged speculation and prohibited controversy."¹

This statement makes us wonder whether when the Orthodox investigate closer into the teaching of the Church of England they will not be forced in self defence to insist on the Anglicans using Western theological terms as the only way of making sure of their right belief.

DOM BEDE WINSLOW.

POSTSCRIPT.

Dr. Messenger has now published the second volume of his work. In this there is a chapter relating to our subject—viz., Chapter VIII, *The recognition of Anglican Orders by Eastern Orthodox Churches*.

The question is treated very fully, much of the same ground has been gone over as in this article but in a more complete fashion. Dr. Messenger in conclusion says: "The information of the Orthodox on these matters has been derived in great part from sources such as the *De Hierarchia Anglicana* of Denny and Lacey, and the Reply of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to Pope Leo (in a somewhat misleading translation). This has been supplemented by declarations on Anglican doctrine which are manifestly at variance with the historical doctrinal position of the Church of England, and some members of the Anglican Church itself have not hesitated to point this out."

With this we agree but in some of the other remarks concerning the Orthodox we think the author has gone astray. It is hinted that certain mundane considerations may be influencing the Orthodox in this matter. We are of opinion that, with the possible exception of one or two individuals, the Orthodox clergy and laity engaged in this rapprochement are really desirous for the Reunion of Christendom. And lastly we think it to be wrong to suggest that the recent school of Orthodox Theologians will not always hold the Real Objective Presence, the Sacrifice and the Priesthood as Catholics do. The present day Orthodox theologian is all out to set forth his belief in terms taken from the Patristic tradition of the East, but in this he in no way denies the Catholic Faith in these matters. It is true that some do try and make the most of the distinction between what they call modern Roman theology and that of the early Fathers to the detriment of Catholic

¹ Reported in *The Church Times*, May 29th, 1936, p. 663.

teaching. We have certainly developed on different lines in much that is theological speculation largely because of the centuries of separation between East and West, but the fundamentals and the sources are the same. There is much that could be said to show that Latin theology has developed more genuinely on the lines of Patristic tradition than some modern Orthodox theology, yet there is not so much difference between Nicolas Cabasilas (†1363), outstanding among the Greeks for his sense of tradition, and the Christology and teaching concerning the Sacraments in St. Thomas. It is for us to set out more and more clearly the continuity of the Catholic tradition in our teaching of theology. (For relations between modern Greek theology and Patristic theology both Greek and Latin see Dom Placid de Meester—*Etudes la théologie Orthodoxe, Revue bénédictine* : 1906—1909).

B.W.

VLADIMIR SOLOVIEV

AN INTERPRETATION.

(II)

(continued.)

THE thought of a philosopher may be studied in the whole of his work. And a complete study of his thought could not possibly do without this, were it simply for psychological motives. The advantages are obvious: more intimacy with the man, a closer observation of his growth, his ripening, a more delicate apprehension of the interior and exterior influences, and a more accurate locating of the whole "event" of man and work in its historical setting. Besides the advantages there are however disadvantages. If growth is already a mystery in itself, how can we ever flatter ourselves with the hope of fathoming the growth of someone else? We may perhaps vaguely apprehend where the mystery looms, but we shall never get any further. And at this point the vain presumptions of history become painfully apparent. This may perhaps run counter to modern scientific ambitions, but it is undoubtedly true that history alone as a scientific arrangement of dates and facts and circumstances produces no more than a "negative." For history is made up of the facts that are outstanding, the facts that strike others. But all of us know that most of those facts are imposed upon us, fall down upon us from the outside. We all know that the decisive moments of our life lie hidden in the folds of silence and solitude, where the "outside" is reduced to a minimum. There the passions explode, there the will conceives its deepest efficacy, and the mind its grandest

intuitions. Of all this history sees nothing at all, or catches only a glimpse, and a dim one indeed. Hence the knowledge which history proffers is by no means so true or so absolute or so vast as its sometimes elaborate displays would make us believe. Man is a mystery and reality is mysticism.

Moreover a philosopher is often taken as a clever logician, and philosophy itself as the able manœuvring of the "instrument" of reason. In reality the philosopher is the richest of human beings living the most intense of human lives, and his philosophy is but the clumsy revelation of an all-embracing experience, second only to the supernatural experience of the Christian mystics. Without this inward, vital, all-inspiring experience, this synthesizing contact of the soul-subject and the reality-object, there is but the caricature of a philosopher. The call of the philosopher springs from a genuine intimate experience, a genuine intuition, a genuine spiritual emotion, and thus his philosophy is *life*, a moment of most genuine growth. The universally human significance of these experiences is apparent at every twist or turn in history. The chain of these experiences is the marrow of mankind's evolution if considered in the purely natural order. Now the way in which the philosopher expresses this experience may be not only clumsy but entirely unacceptable. Yet a kindred spirit may almost always decipher and untangle the tragic conflict between outward expression and inward experience, and discover the original purity and beauty of the inspiration—sometimes even better than the thinker himself.

Life and growth however are subject to constant change. But this change is not a material, quantitative accumulation of stages or a succession of pictures as of a magic lantern. It is evolution and expansion, unfolding of perfection. Hence there are moments of maturity, following on moments of crisis, moments of rest and clear vision following on moments of tension and trouble. Such moments of rest are of immense value in approaching the philosopher and his message. To study a philosopher at the moment of his maturity may thus be more fair and may give a clearer insight than to study him in the whole of his work, which may be out of proportion with the simplicity of his thought. We do not say that this is necessarily the case—far from it. But we do say that both methods have undeniable advantages, and hence are both justifiable.

In this study of Soloviev we take the simpler line. We study him in what is generally recognized to be his greatest achievement : *La Russie et l'Eglise universelle* (Russia and the universal Church).¹

¹ We use the second edition, Paris (Stock), 1906.

ORIGIN OF THE WORK. As early as 1886 Soloviev, at the acme of his religious crisis, was solicited to give a definite statement concerning his religious system. In the letter written by Soloviev in answer to this solicitation he says : " That demand for authorized information about my ' religious system ' offers me the first occasion to express my ideas before a truly enlightened public. . . . The work proposed by you (Rev. Father Pierling, S.J.) and by Mr. Leroy-Beaulieu completely squares with one of my plans."¹ The first idea is to compress all within the scope of a modest article in French under the title : *Philosophy of the universal Church*. The disproportion of title and form is evident. Hence the article-form is soon abandoned. The matter is too much his own, the joy of speaking out without restraint is too exuberant to let the occasion pass. Yet the title is maintained for some time. Finally after two years of intense but happy labour, the book is published at Paris (1889), under the title *Russia and the universal Church*. This change of title is on the whole unhappy. It has misled more than one superficial reader. And it is not only the title which is misleading. The distribution of the matter is equally disconcerting. The fact is that at this moment of Soloviev's life three equally urgent needs press heavily on his productive activity. First of all there is the need of giving a synthesis of his philosophy, of his message.² By far the bigger part of his works had, by this time, already been published. The year 1880 saw the appearance of the famous *Twelve lectures on Theandristism*, 1883, *The spiritual foundations of life*, and *The great debate and Christian politics*. These are only the three most important of a dozen masterpieces. But Soloviev was a real philosopher : his search for truth was not a dull mental exercise, but the obedience to a call : his soul, his life and that of his fellow-men were engaged. The solution of the religious problem was the concrete aspect of his philosophical investigations. Hence another need : to make known to his countrymen the all-important solution to which he had come himself : union with Rome. Having only just passed the religious crisis himself the burning zeal of the neophyte is fully ablaze. Finally there is the very natural need of the ardent patriot who gets the occasion of extolling in front of a " truly enlightened public " the ideal mission of his country, the more passionately loved as it threatens to pine away in unintelligent suffering. These three needs concentrate on this one moment, boiling and burning like torrents of lava in the soul of this young prophet, hardly thirty-three years of age. Yet the hearth of

¹ M. D'HERBIGNY, *Un Newman russe*, Vladimir Soloviev, 6 ed., Paris 1934, p. 223.

² *Russia*, p. LX.

this fire is that philosophical intuition which led him through dark nights and hazy plains to new horizons. *Russia* must be looked at as the first clear synthetical expression of a philosophy which means to be the living experience of Christian Truth. It is this, and not the apologetic display of a "convert" in a flutter.¹ Soloviev's life was, more than anything else, a *concrete philo-Sophia*. The meaning of this term will appear later on.

ANALYSIS OF THE WORK. The book is composed of four parts, of almost equal length, but with no other real connexion than Soloviev's philosophical message. The first part (*Introduction*) is a philosophical and theological interpretation of the religious situation out of which arose the religious situation of Russia in particular. Hence the nature and facts of the Byzantine schism form the bulk of this part of the work. In a preceding article² we have had the occasion to show the balanced though uncompromising attitude of Soloviev's mind. There is therefore no reason why we should go back to it. Let it simply be remembered that Soloviev considers schism as the worst of heresies because it undermines the very centre of Christian dogma: the all-vivifying union of the human and the Divine; that Soloviev lays the blame of the catastrophe, not on any particular nation or Church as such, but on the petty-souled conceit of a relatively small party which when ruled out of importance through national disaster had unfortunately transmitted their separatist tendencies to the then rising nation of the Russians, like some original sin.

This philosophical survey is the application of the Sophian outlook to historical facts. As such it is a practical preparation of the reader for the understanding of the main thesis exposed at the end of the work. The introductory character is given to it by the description of the scheme of the rest of the work, and the narration of the origin of the work. We quote the scheme: "In the first book of my work (the critical and polemical part) I intended to show what the present Russia is in want of to accomplish its theocratic mission; in the second I have given a theological and historical exposition of the foundations of the universal unity established by Christ (the Church-monarchy); in the third I meant to attach the idea of theocracy (social Trinity) to the idea of theosophy (divine Trinity)."³ From this scheme it is evident that the first book is mainly inspired by actual religious controversy. The *raskol*, Aksakov, Metropolitan Philaret, the *de facto* relations between the Russian Church and the

¹ This apologetic aspect is the only one stressed by M. d'Herbigny.

² Cf. E.C.Q., ii, 1937, pp. 12-26.

³ *Russia*, p. LX.

other Oriental Churches, all these typically Russian personages and subjects are submitted to a cross-examination so relentlessly complete and so ferociously logical that one cannot help pitying the victims. Yet throughout the tone is such as to leave no doubt that all his sparks of wit spring from a fire of genuine love. But even in this almost purely practical part the fundamentally philosophical thesis is transparent. Time and again we are reminded of that fundamental argument: the only possible real Church must be catholic, universal, because its whole reason of existence is to guide the whole of humanity towards the ideal: the perfect union of the whole of creation in God.¹ That is why "the Church, though in this world it does not yet possess the perfect unity of the celestial kingdom, yet must possess a certain real unity, a link at the same time *organic and spiritual*, which determines it as a solid institution, as a living body and as a moral individuality. . . . If the Church was not one and universal, it could not serve as a basis to the positive unity of all nations,—and that is its principal mission. If it was not infallible, it could not guide humanity in the true way, it would be the blind leading the blind. And finally if it was not independent, it could not fulfil any of its social functions, and, becoming the instrument of the powers of this world, it would completely fail in its mission."²

The *second book* is mainly positive; apologetics are abandoned to give way to positive, constructive theology. The whole of this part is built on an exegesis of St. Matthew xvi, 13—19, which, in comparison with the every-day arguments of Catholic apologetics and Protestant attacks, is simply formidable in its physical massiveness. The end of creation is the union of the human and the divine. This union is hypostatically accomplished in Jesus-Christ. The essential solidarity of mankind implies that this individual union really means the throwing open of a new horizon: through this individual union the social union becomes possible. The God-man, being union Himself, is the unifying principle of mankind. The way in which this union will be worked out is clear: I shall build My CHURCH. Humanity united with God must form one sole social edifice. This unity demands a solid base. All union is based on reciprocal action. The action of absolute Truth revealing Itself in the God-Man requires from the imperfect humanity an action of irrevocable adhesion which will link us to the Divine principle. This human action must be completely human, free and infallible. Within fallen humanity a point must be found, fixed and unshakable, on which God's constructive action may rest, a

¹ *Russia*, p. 37.

² *Russia*, pp. 37—39.

point where human spontaneity may coincide with divine Truth in a synthetical action, purely human as to its form and divinely infallible as to its *fond*. In the hypostatical economy of Christ this human action is eminently realized in the *Fiat* of the Virgin Mother. In the social economy this point of active cohesion of divine and human is the answer of St. Peter who, assisted and prompted by the Father, "recapitulates" so to speak the whole of mankind in a way inferior but analogical to the act of Our Lady. The other apostles gave various and contradictory opinions: universal suffrage, democracy, are unable to "recapitulate" mankind. Peter alone, assisted by Divine power, can overcome the material and quantitative dispersion of the human race. Therefore Peter alone can serve as the rock on which the ONE, My, CHURCH can be erected. In Christ's Church the spiritual must dominate, and therefore the Church is by nature a monarchy and hierarchical.¹ That is the nerve of Soloviev's argument against any effort to explain the Papacy away either by an absolute liberty or by a democratic constitution in which democratic councils, however venerable, are supreme. This argument is immediately derived from Soloviev's metaphysical outlook. Unlike apologetic platitudes it plunges headlong into the depth of that Christian realism which was the basic apprehension that inspired his philosophical ambitions. Soloviev is far too profoundly realistic to confine himself to an individualistic, purely historical, superficial interpretation of facts and persons. Those who for lack of personal depth and mystical capacity cannot penetrate beyond the material appearances will never understand Soloviev's message. This is only a small disadvantage. But when one realizes that this sense of Christian realism is the very soul of Christian reality and the marrow of the purest Christian tradition, the disadvantage takes horrifying proportions. Such an incapacity for mysticism is nothing but the lees of paganism clinging like a parasite to the Christian soul. Such souls might greatly profit by meditating on passages like this: "The God-Man did not found passing institutions. In His elect He saw right through and beyond their mortal individuality the principles and permanent types of His work."² To conclude our too short analysis of the second book we quote one more passage: "Universal Truth perfectly realized in One alone (Christ) attracts the faith of all, infallibly determined by the voice of one alone (the Pope). We have seen that beyond that unity the opinion of the multitude may err and the faith of the elect themselves may waver. No false opinion, no wavering faith however, but only an infallible and determined faith

¹ *Russia*, pp. 87-94.

² *Russia*, pp. 99-100.

which links mankind to Divine Truth can constitute the unshakable foundation of the Universal Church. That foundation is the faith of Peter living in his successors—a faith personal in its manifestation to men and, by divine assistance, superhuman in its infallibility.”¹

The third book bears the title : *The Trinitarian principle and its social application.*² We approach the sanctuary, but the mists that surround it do not facilitate this approach. There is, no doubt, a certain clarity in the argument which is the mark of the true philosopher who becomes more and more conscious of the contents and bearing of his message. On the other hand, this consciousness does not necessarily reconcile intuition and reasoning. And this reconciliation cannot even be strictly exacted. For, intuition and reasoning are two diverse things living on two diverse levels. In the case of Soloviev there is however a special difficulty : there is a profound autonomy in the very heart of his message such as he chose to express it. Instead of giving long quotations we shall endeavour to distil the quintessence from the twelve chapters in which the gorgeous array of matter has been compressed.

There is a positive unity and there is a negative unity. The latter is a pure negation, an arbitrarily fixed number, and excludes all plurality. The positive unity is pure perfection, admits plurality, contains and even is this plurality, it is all, it determines all in itself, it is plenitude. It is the “whole” in an absolute way. This unity is called uni-totality and appertains to all which has or ought to have absolute being in its kind. In fact, the complete whole of reality, of all reality, is contained in this uni-totality.³

This uni-totality is most clearly manifested in the living organism. But the living organism shows that this uni-totality is not only a *unity* but a *duality* and a *trinity* as well. The living being is *one* in so far as it is being. It is a *duality* because its *subjective existence* is so to speak filled by its *objective essence*. We use the expression “filled” because Soloviev conceives essence as the “contents,” as the “possession,” of the personal existence. This conception is of the utmost importance in Soloviev’s philosophy. Finally, a living being is a *trinity*. This trinity is manifested by the threefold tie which links the subjective existence or the existing subject to its “contents,” the objective essence. The existing subject “possesses” its essence first of all by the very fact of its containing, the mere fact of its existence ; secondly by its

¹ *Russia*, p. 119.

² D’Herbigny finds the third book a little “strange,” leaves the subject alone after two pages, and succeeds in treating of Soloviev without even so much as mentioning the Sophia-idea. Cfr. op. cit., pp. 248 and 269-271.

³ *Russia*, pp. 203-204.

action which manifests this essence ; thirdly by the fruition caused by the manifestation. This fruition achieves the perfection of the subject as it constitutes a plenitude of consciousness.¹

These three modes of possessing essence are absolute perfections, and hence are Divine attributes. To these attributes corresponds in God the trinity of existence.² The subject of a trinitarian existence in God is necessarily Three-fold : it is Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Hence, for Soloviev, the Trinity is not only revealed, but also logically deduced by human reason, once it is admitted that God *is* in the positive and complete meaning of this term.³ We must here attract the attention to the manifold antinomies in Soloviev's interpretation of the Mystery of the Blessed Trinity. A. KOJEVNIKOV has rightly insisted on this peculiar feature of Soloviev's philosophy.⁴ In God there is absolute unity, and yet there is the radical distinction of essence and existence. The three Persons of the Blessed Trinity are not distinct unless by mere relation, and yet this relation "coincides"⁵ with *act* and *state*. Father and Son are absolutely equal, and yet the Father is veritable first cause of the Son, and the Son veritable effect of the Father.⁶ We should be inclined to neglect this last point, as Soloviev may have loosely translated the Greek *άτιτα*, which neglects the Latin distinction of *causa* and *principium*, and which term was admitted by the Council of Florence as being capable of orthodox interpretation. But it is that emphasis throughout, which does not even shrink from terms like "ontological dependence,"⁷ that forces us to enlist it as an antinomy. Then, as already pointed out, the Trinity is a revealed Mystery and yet is logically deduced by reason from the notion of being.

Now we come to the Holy of Holies in Soloviev's system : the *Sophia*. Soloviev starts by summing up his theses before he proceeds to expose the *Sophia*-doctrine.⁸ Starting from the fundamental notion of God's existence "we have distinguished in God : the threefold subject, supposed by complete

¹ *Russia*, p. 206.

² *Russia*, pp. 208-210.

³ *Russia*, pp. 212-213. This thesis is condemned by Pius IX and by Leo XIII, cfr. DENZINGER-BANNWART, *Enchiridion symbolorum*, ed. 6, n. 1796, 1816, 1915.

⁴ A. KOJEVNIKOV, *La métaphysique religieuse de Vladimir Soloviev*, in : *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse*, 34, pp. 534-554, and 1935, pp. 110-152, a brilliant and exceedingly interesting study with copious references to Soloviev's works.

⁵ *Russia*, p. 210.

⁶ *Russia*, pp. 214-215.

⁷ *Russia*, p. 221.

⁸ We know of no clearer exposition of the *Sophia* than the second part of Kojevnikov's article, mentioned above.

existence, and His objective essence or absolute substance possessed by that subject in three diverse ways.”¹ Having treated of the threefold subjective existence, “we must now define and name the absolute objectivity itself, the one substance of that divine Trinity.”² This objective essence or contents or substance of God is one, is universal, is the ‘whole’ of reality, is all, it is the all in oneness. This totality or universal substance is the essential Wisdom, the Sophia.³ God, as Father, Son and Holy Ghost possesses this eternal Wisdom.⁴ It is to be noted that Soloviev always uses the terms *possess* or *have*, he never says: God *is* His substance. This seems to justify our interpretation of his words as implying a radical distinction between essence and existence in God. As we shall see: the Bible-texts on Wisdom appeal more to him than the: ‘I am Who am.’ . . .

The unitotality of God supposes a plurality as well as a unity, though a plurality actually, and in Him, *reduced* to unity. That plurality or undetermined multiplicity, though not existing *actu*, in full, actual reality, exists potentially in the uni-total substance. Thus the Wisdom or absolute substance of God is distinct from God and knows two states: in its eternally actual state (in God) it is the all in oneness, in its potential state (outside God) it is the all in division. The absolute substance as potential, or in its tendency to exist outside God in a divided multiplicity, is the Chaos. The very moment God ceases to restrain this tendency the multiplicity arises, becomes a fact. This is creation, and the fall of Sophia. Creation is called the fall of Sophia, because the potential part of the Sophia here prefers an *independent* existence *in itself*, to its potential existence *in God*. Hence we must not be afraid of identifying the eternal Sophia and the fallen Sophia: they are one and the same substance.⁵

This doctrine of the Sophia, obscure and full of contradictions as it stands, must be more fully dwelled upon. Every now and then we get a glimpse of the meaning of the Sophia. “God wishes outside Himself another nature which may progressively become what He is of all eternity—the absolute whole.”⁶ “If the very idea of Divinity is not to be denied, it is impossible to admit of a thing really and positively existing *in se* outside God. The extra-divine, therefore, cannot be but the divine transposed or reversed.”⁷ Our world is but the reverse of divine objectivity, with the opposed tendencies to multiplicity and division. This illusory existence itself, however, with all its diversifications demands a subject.

¹ *Russia*, pp. 222 and 231.

² *Russia*, p. 223.

³ *Russia*, p. 223.

⁴ *Russia*, p. 224.

⁵ KOJEVNIKOV, op. 1., p. 129.

⁶ *Russia*, p. 230.

⁷ *Russia*, p. 231.

We have seen already that for Soloviev existence and subject always go together. The subject of the potential substance coming to existence is the World-Soul. The World-Soul is thus the *Subject* of the *Sophia as fallen* and as in continual progress towards the re-identification with the eternal Sophia. Thus "as creature the World-Soul does not exist eternally in itself, but it exists of all eternity in God in the state of pure potency, as hidden base of eternal Wisdom. That possible and future Mother of the extra-divine world corresponds as ideal complement to the eternally actual Father of the Divinity."¹ The World-Soul being in pure potency, that is: indetermined, can choose, once it has come into existence, either to exist for itself in its chaotic existence, or to humiliate itself before God, to attach itself freely to the Divine Word, to bring the whole creation back to perfect unity and to *identify itself with the eternal Wisdom*.² And this re-identification can be effected only by that particular being which recapitulates in itself the whole of creation: man.³ As the Wisdom-idea permeates the whole of the *Divine* world as well as the *material* creation, we once more meet the fundamental identity of the *eternal* and the *fallen* Wisdom. Wisdom indeed is not only the full unity of God *alone*, but she also *becomes* the unity and union of God with extra-divine existence. She is eternally and substantially in God, and at the same time She effectively realizes Herself in the world through successive incarnation which takes place by a constant re-uniting of all into an increasingly perfect unity. She is the *reshith*, the feminine principle in which the creation took shape, and She is the *malkouth*, the kingdom of God, which in the end will have realized the perfect unity of Creator and creature.⁴ This duality of Wisdom is again stressed somewhat further on. The cosmogonical process is the successive unification of the chaos. In this process we see two productive factors at work: one absolutely active, and this is God through His Word and His Spirit; the other *partly co-operating by its own force and partly offering a purely passive and material element*.⁵ Man unites in himself the two opposites: spirit and matter, the two opposites of which Wisdom must realize the most perfect union.⁶ Therefore Wisdom and Man coincide. Therefore it was said: 'My delights are to be with the children of men.' Man has to achieve the plenitude of creation in the perfect unity with God. Because of his double nature man alone

¹ *Russia*, p. 235.

² *Russia*, pp. 236 and 242.

³ *Russia*, p. 230, and *Kojevnikov*, pp. 114-124.

⁴ *Russia*, pp. 241-242.

⁵ *Russia*, p. 249.

⁶ *Russia*, p. 255.

can keep his liberty and remain the continual moral complement of God.¹ As woman is but the complement of man and society but his extension or total manifestation, there is really but one sole Human Being.² This one human being, united to God, in Our Lady, Christ, and the Church, is the realization of the essential Wisdom of God's absolute substance, its created form, its incarnation. This Humanity is the organism of the divino-human incarnation with Jesus-Christ as its active personal centre, but having only one substantial base in its threefold manifestation ; it is the corporeity of divine Wisdom as hidden and revealed in the inferior world ; it is the World-Soul completely converted, purified and identified with Wisdom itself.³ And at this very moment when we reach the highest summit of the Wisdom-system, we again meet the duality, for ' it is identified with Wisdom itself like matter is identified with form in one sole concrete and living being.'⁴ At least we have some certainty here concerning that inherent duality in the very essence of Wisdom, as Soloviev continues : " And the perfect realization of this *divino-material Substance*, of this *semen mulieris* (understand : Sophiae),⁵ is the glorified and resuscitated humanity, the Temple, the Body and the Bride of God." Finally, to the Trinity-Subject of the Sophia as eternally existing corresponds the Church-Subject of the Sophia as continually progressing towards the final unification. This Church-Subject is one and three, as it is a trinitarian monarchy. One as to its Supreme Pontiff who prolongs throughout the centuries the basic act of St. Peter, the Church is threefold as to its ministry : priesthood, kingship and prophethood. The detailed elaboration of this theme forms the finale of this new symphony in which Russia will discover her inmost possibilities and eternal vocation . . . not however before passing through an almost infernal purification.

When asked to give an exact definition of the Sophia, we are still at an almost complete loss.⁷ Summing up the results acquired by the careful analysis of *Russia and the universal Church* we know that Wisdom is divine and human, actual and potential, existing and progressing ; we may plainly identify it with Mankind which is absolute and divine. The essence of man of which all men are partial realizations, is,

¹ *Russia*, p. 257. ² *Russia*, p. 260. ³ *Russia*, p. 263.

⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ *Russia*, p. 261.

⁶ *Russia*, p. 263. Note : ONE substance divine AND material.

⁷ Kojevnikov gives references which evidently show : (1) the identification of Sophia with : Otherness, divine contents or totality, *materia prima* or principle of corporeity, unitotal idea, ideal Humanity, the Man of the God-Man, the World-Soul and (2) the identity of the cosmogonical process with the fall of Sophia, cfr. op. cit. p. 121, n.1., cfr. also pp. 118-119, where Kojevnikov studies the Divine Man.

for Soloviev, a real and concrete individual : The Man, ideal, unitotal, absolute, the Otherness of the Absolute, and better still : the Otherness in the Absolute. The whole of reality is one *univocal* whole, it is *one God-Man*. The Sophia is the name given by Soloviev to the Man of this God-Man, it is the inferior and absolutely univocal Objectivity of the Divine Subject. Think of the Father-Mother relation, and of the female principle, described above. The problem of Sophia is not completely intelligible without another fact. Soloviev was a genuine philosopher : his message sprang forth from a genuine intuition. This intuition manifested itself not only in his philosophical researches, but also in extremely curious 'mystical' relations. Sophia was for him a Person mostly described as female ; yet without the slightest possible doubt there can be no question whatever of sex-love.¹ Soloviev as we said in our first article freely chose to live under a vow of celibacy, and a highly ascetical régime. This strange supernatural Person showed herself to him in three apparitions, guided him in his work, pointing out the books that speak of her and preventing him from reading books that have no relation to her. This personal feature of the Sophia is to our mind the most difficult and practically unexplainable thing in Soloviev. This makes all interpretations of his system always somewhat hazardous and incomplete. It is the more disconcerting as this personal feature is, by its very nature, uncontrollable. With this in mind we shall try to give a short synthesis of the Sophia-idea.

In attempting an explanation of the Sophia we start by stressing a distinction which Soloviev has maintained throughout his work. This distinction bears on essence and existence. Soloviev seems to rank existence first in the scale of values. He stresses the perfection of this existence so much that this idea comes to imply a sort of nature which thereby comes to stand in rather loose relations with essence. Moreover, Soloviev seems to identify the opposition essence-existence, with the opposition object-subject. Existence refers always to the subject, to the personality, whilst essence refers to the object. Then, the existing subject seems to be the containing element and the objective essence the contents. These contents Soloviev often calls substance. Now this substance is possessed by two subjects, the first of which is the Divine

¹Cfr. Karl Pfeifer, *Wrestlers with Christ*, p. 228 (London, 1936), tr. by E. J. Watkin. And : Kojevnikov, op. 1., p. 120. After N. Berdyaev, of Danzas (*Les réminiscences quostiques dans la philosophie religieuse russe moderne* Rev. des Sciences philos. et théol., 1936, p. 667) has propagated the idea of the "unhealthy" attraction of Soloviev for the Sophia. The whole of Soloviev's exemplary *interior* life makes such an interpretation a gross deformation which Soloviev does not deserve. Nor can we accept her "quostic reminiscences." Later on we shall return to this point.

Trinity and the second the human or social trinity. Both these threefold subjects having the same substance, they form one complete whole. The difficulty is : how can one substance be possessed by two different subjects which themselves are threefold ? We may for the moment make abstraction of the two trinities, as the kernel of the problem concerns the substance and its twofold possession. Soloviev frankly admits a duality within the substance. The substance is partly in act and eternal, partly in potency and in progress. In itself there is no difficulty in this duality. It exists, as a matter of fact, in all created beings. But the question changes altogether when the substance is absolute and divine. The divine absolute (and only the divine can be absolute) is radically incompatible with potency. Anyhow, the fact is that Soloviev accepts this duality in the absolute substance, the object-essence or Sophia ; it is the very heart of his philosophy.

This absolute substance, partly in act, partly in potency, allows by reason of this very duality of a *distension*. The potential part, though remaining *substantially* one with the act-part, goes out in time and receives an independent existence which reaches perfection in its proper subject : the social trinity of manhood. What does this existence mean ? It is the cosmological and theogonic process by which the potential part of the divine substance strives after the divine and eternal perfection already possessed by the act-part of this same divine substance. Thus the end is the final and perfect unification of the duality in the divine substance. This process is worked out through the collaboration of the act-part (which is a unifying principle because of its very perfection) and the existing subject of the potential part outside God, and this is man. The act-part is played by the Ideal, eternal, absolute, divine Man ; the potential part is played by the collective, empirical man of the social trinity. The end thus becomes the identification of the divine and the empirical man. This is the apotheosis of the Sophia.

There is no special need to insist on the innumerable antinomies implied in this system : this has been sufficiently done by authorities far more competent than we.¹ Nor is it particularly necessary to insist on the sources of this theory. It is obviously a new system directly emanating from the idealism of Eckart, Böhme, Schelling and Hegel, to whom we may add Comte.² This does not mean that Soloviev has copied. But the facts have shown that the whole atmosphere and education of Soloviev were those of idealism. There is only one point we wish to stress, and that is that Soloviev, however critically disposed towards Hegel or other

¹ We again refer to the study of Kojevnikov.

² The references are to be found in Kojevnikov.

representatives of idealism, seems never to have questioned the strength of the idealistic position *in itself*. From his readings and his language it is obvious how innocently he took that position for granted. On this point a philosopher betrays himself mostly in the axioms he uses as premisses in his argument, without questioning them,—for he supposes all men to agree on such points—and without insisting on them—for no one but the empty-headed insists on truisms. In his *Russia* we quote by way of example: "If the very idea of divinity is not to be denied, it is impossible to admit of a real and positive existence in itself of a thing outside God."¹ Now, with the idealistic position shortly summed up in this sentence, the whole Sophia-idea stands or falls. For it is because of this principle that creation must be drawn within the divinity; because of this drawing of creation within divinity there must be made room for potency in the Absolute; in order to make room for potency there is a distinction required between the substance (or objective essence) of the Absolute and its subjective existence. Thus Soloviev flatters himself with the hope of having introduced potency into the divine without carrying it as far as the Blessed Trinity. But the orthodox, Catholic position admits of no distinction whatever between God's essence and existence; they are radically identical; and with that Soloviev's "deduction" of the Mystery of the Blessed Trinity from the simple notion of being falls to the ground. There can be no question as to the heterodoxy of Soloviev's philosophy. It is a painful judgment to pronounce over a noble spirit like Soloviev's. Fortunately however there is more in Soloviev than the exterior stammering of his message: the message indeed remains intact. But the Sophia-doctrine has found much favour in our days, and it would be a regrettable lack of fraternal respect to dismiss such a noble effort with a haughty 'non-recevoir'; so we shall try in a following essay to give a positive answer to the problem underlying the Sophia-idea.

DOM THEODORE L. WESSELING.

¹ *Russia*, p. 231.

THE CHALDAEAN LITURGY

INTRODUCTION.

THE traditional apostles of the East Syrians, the Christians of the Parthian and Sassanian empires, are Addai and his disciple Mari. Addai was the apostle of Edessa and seems to have lived about the middle of the second century. The organization of the Persian Church was due to Papa bar 'Aggai, bishop of the Sassanian capital Seleucia-Ctesiphon ; he is reputed to be the disciple of Mari, but flourished in the late third and early fourth century. The glories of this Church are the countless martyrs under Shapur II and his successors in the fourth and fifth centuries, among whom is to be noticed Simeon bar Sabba'e, the successor of Papa, slain with his companions for the Faith in 339. Among the confessors should be mentioned the " Persian Sage " Aphraates, of the first half of the fourth century.

The Church was under the jurisdiction of far-away Antioch and from 410 was under the immediate rule of the bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, known as the Great Metropolitan or more generally as the Catholicos of the East. This title originally meant that the holder was the vicar general of a patriarch or other great prelate ; it was used by the archbishop of Thessalonica, the " Vicar Apostolic " of the Pope over Illyricum (Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, p. 34), as well as by the head of the Georgian Church once under Antioch and by that of the Armenian at one time under Caesarea. The constant trouble caused to the Christians by the hostilities between Rome and Persia led in 424 to the severance of the link between the East Syrians and Antioch and the independence of the Persian Church. This step prepared the way for the heresy of Nestorius. In 363 the capture of Nisibis by the Persians had led to the transfer of the " Persian School " in that city to Edessa in the Roman Empire. This school was a hotbed of Nestorianism and the followers of Ibas were expelled with their head Barsauma in 457. They migrated to Nisibis, where Barsauma became bishop and the chief propagator of the heresy. The establishment of a form of religion opposed to that of the Roman Empire found favour with the Persian government.

The Nestorian Church flourished exceedingly and had sees in China, Turkestan and Southern India, the period of its greatest expansion being the thirteenth century. The invasion of Tamerlane brought about its ruin, and gradual decline ensued. The patriarchal see under the Abbasid khalifs was moved from Seleucia-Ctesiphon to Baghdad, and in more modern times to Mosul. Contact with Latins led to various attempts at union with the Catholic Church. In the middle of the fifteenth century the patriarchal see had been confined

to one family, and about 1552 some of the bishops, who objected to this abuse, took advantage of a vacancy in the see to elect John Sulaqa. He proceeded to Rome and was consecrated there as patriarch in 1553. He was the first of a shortlived Catholic succession which finally relapsed into heresy ; the present Nestorian patriarch is its representative. Meanwhile Sulaqa's rival, Simeon Denha of the patriarchal family, continued the old Nestorian line at Mosul. Another series of patriarchs united with the Holy See began with one Joseph in 1681 at Diarbekir. His successors all bore the name of Joseph. Later on the original Nestorian line, that of Mosul, returned to orthodoxy. There now were two communities of Chaldaeans or East Syrians in union with Rome. But on the death of the last Joseph about 1828 both were united under the rule of Mosul ; thus the present Catholicos Patriarch of Babylon actually is the lineal successor of the old Catholici of the East. The title of "Babylon" is not a new one. It occurs as early as the thirteenth century in the Epitome of Canons compiled by 'Abhdisho' (J. S. Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, III, i, pp. 348—9). The name was wrongly applied to Baghdad.

As might be expected, the Liturgy of the East Syrians represents that of Edessa before this last was superseded by the Jerusalem-Antioch Liturgy of St. James. Its most distinctive feature is the position of the Intercession before the Epiclesis or Invocation of the Holy Ghost. This effectively breaks up the Eucharistic prayer, but can be accounted for by the enumeration of the objects, for which the Oblation is offered, after some such words as "we offer" commonly found in the Anamnesis of Liturgies. The earliest exponent of the East Syrian Liturgy is Narsai, doctor of the "Persian School" at Edessa and later at Nisibis, who died in 502 (R. H. Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, Cambridge, 1909). There are three Anaphoras or Qudashe, "hallowings," now in use. The first is that of "the blessed apostles mar Addai and mar Mari, who made disciples of the East." This is used from Holy Saturday until Advent, in Masses for the departed, on memorials of saints, and on ordinary days. This Anaphora is peculiar in omitting all account of the Last Supper and with it the Words of Institution ; these, of course, have been supplied in the Chaldaean Rite. The "Second Qudasha" is that known among the Nestorians as the Hallowing of mar Theodore, that is Theodore of Mopsuestia. It is based on a Greek original, and is used from the first Sunday of Advent to the Feast of Hosannas or Palm Sunday. The "Third Qudasha," attributed to Nestorius by the followers of his heresy, is from a Greek text allied to the Liturgy of St. Basil ; it is employed five times in the year, namely on the

Epiphany, on the memorials of St. John Baptist and of the Greek Doctors, on the Wednesday of the Supplication of Ninive, and on the Pasch or Maundy Thursday. These last two Anaphoras are of some length. All three are inserted in a common Ordinary of the Mass. Narsai and Barsauma are said to have composed Anaphoras, and in the sixteenth century there was used one attributed to Diodore of Tarsus.

THE CHURCH BUILDING.

The following account applies to the old churches such as are still possessed by the Chaldaeans in Mosul. The building is rectangular and has no apse. It is divided into three main parts :—

1. The east end, separated from the rest of the church by a solid wall rising to the roof itself and extending the whole width of the building. (a) The central portion of the area so cut off by the wall is the sanctuary (*qanke* = κόγχη, or *madhb'ha*, “altar”). On the right of the sanctuary is (b) the baptistery (*beth m'amoditha*, *beth 'mada*). On the left is (c) the diaconicon (*beth dyaqon*). Beyond this on the extreme left may be (d) the martyrium (*beth sahde*, *beth-qaddishe*), where the relics were preserved, in particular those of the patron saint of the church; originally perhaps this was the burial place of a martyr. Its situation varies; in the patriarchal church at Mosul one compartment serves for baptistery and martyrium. The baptistery seems always to be on the south side of the sanctuary. Each division of the area behind the wall is provided with a door on the west, which in the case of the sanctuary (“door of the sanctuary, door of the altar”) has a large curtain. There is a minor door leading from the diaconicon into the sanctuary, and also sometimes from the baptistery. The one from the diaconicon may be the “little door of the sanctuary” mentioned in the rubric touching the Epistle. Where altars have been set up in the compartments on either side of the sanctuary, as in the patriarchal church, the two doors facing west are provided with curtains in the same way as the door of the sanctuary.

2. In front of the sanctuary is the *bema* (*bem*), an oblong platform surrounded on the top on three sides by rails with entrances in front and on either side, and raised about two feet above the general level of the church, from which steps lead up to the three entrances. One step separates the *bema* from the sanctuary.

3. The rest of the church is the nave or *haikla*. The eastern part of this is reserved for the men, the western for the women. The sexes sometimes are separated by a rail.

There is no entrance into the church proper on the west. Separate doors are provided for the men and the women on

one side or on both leading into the nave from the open courtyard or from the corridor surrounding the church.

Outside the church proper but parallel with one of its sides is a courtyard roofed in towards the east. This covered portion is the "oratory" (*beth slotha*, "house of prayer"); it has a cross at the east end, and is used for the Divine Office from the Ascension to the Hallowing of the Church, roughly the beginning of November. When so used, the people occupy the open part of the courtyard.

The altar is placed near the east wall of the sanctuary and has neither ciborium nor veil. On it is the *tablitha*, an oblong slab of wood, the length lying north and south. In the rubrics the "right" and "left" of the altar correspond with our *Gospel* and *Epistle* sides. The *beth gazza*, "treasury," among the Nestorians is a recess in the northern wall of the sanctuary, in which the paten is placed. It is not in use among the Chaldaeans. A draft of the Liturgy with the ceremonies for High and Low Mass, apparently made with a view to the restoration of ancient custom before the 1901 edition of the *Missal*, defines it as a table set up by the northern wall of the sanctuary. The "inner veil," which according to the old rubric should be looped up at the Anthem of the *Mysteries*, is no longer in use. It is said to have hung between the altar and the door of the sanctuary, perhaps on the front side of the ciborium.

The patriarchal church at Mosul has two thrones, the greater placed just inside the door of the sanctuary on the "Gospel" side, the smaller for the Office at the north-east corner of the *bema*.

For the Mass there are two choirs: one inside the sanctuary arranged in two divisions, one on either side; the other in the *bema*. Both should be composed of deacons or of sub-deacons or of both. The first choir is reinforced by boys dressed in *kotina* and *girdle*, the second by laymen. The Divine Office is said in the *bema* except during the months when the "oratory" is in use.¹

¹ According to the plans given by Maclean and Browne in *The Catholicos of the East and his People* (London, 1892), pp. 290 ff., the old Nestorian churches in the mountains differ somewhat from those in Mosul. There are two chambers at the east end, namely the *sanctuary* and the *baptistery*, this last being almost invariably on the south. But frequently the *sanctuary* and the *nave* are of the same width; the *baptistery* then is a chamber adjoining the *sanctuary*, from which it is divided architecturally by the continuation of the wall of the *nave*, and its western wall abuts on the covered part of the courtyard (the "oratory") or some other part of the church buildings. The altar is close to the east wall of the *sanctuary* and together with part of the *sanctuary* is covered by a ciborium on pillars. This ciborium may extend about half way down the *sanctuary*, which of course is small. The *baptistery* is also used as a diaconicon or sacristy and for baking the bread. Every church is supposed to contain part of the body of the patron saint; some have tombs of one or more,

THE SACRED VESSELS.

The paten and chalice among the Chaldaeans are of the Latin type. The corporal is in use and is styled in Arabic andimisi, the Greek word antimension. The Latin palla is annaphura, in Arabic nafur.

THE VESTMENTS.

The reader wears the kotina, corresponding to the Latin alb, and the zunara or girdle. The subdeacon in addition wears the stole (urara); this is twisted round the neck, the two ends hanging down in front and behind on his left side under the girdle. The deacon dresses in the same way, but his stole is placed on his left shoulder and is fastened on the right side under the girdle as among the Latins. The priest puts on first the sanwarta (the Latin amice), kotina, zunara, zande or cuffs, urara or stole, and paina. These vestments in general resemble those of the West Syrians. The stole is like the Byzantine, the two pendent portions being joined together by buttons or permanently sewn up. Some priests wear the stole in the Latin way; this is described as an abuse, but the Nestorians wear it in this manner.

In addition to the priestly vestments the bishop wears the Latin mitre, ring and pectoral cross and carries the Latin pastoral staff and the small manual cross with pendent veil, used for blessing. He does not wear the biruna used by Nestorian bishops, corresponding with the West Syrian masnaphtho. The priest who takes the place of the archdeacon wears the amice, kotina, sacerdotal stole, and zunara only.²

(To be continued).

H. W. CODRINGTON.

² The Nestorian vestments according to Maclean and Browne (*op. cit.*, pp. 261 ff.) are the alb (sudra) of cotton with three crosses in black or red on the shoulders and the girdle. Subdeacons and deacons wear their stoles just as do the Chaldaeans. The priest, however, wears his crossed in front, and the bishop has his pendent from the shoulders, precisely in the Latin manner; in all cases the ends are confined by the girdle. The outer vestment or ma'apra is like a square sheet ornamented with a few crosses. This is put on over the shoulders, and as it has no fastening on the breast is very liable to fall off. It is put on first at the prothesis during the litany after the Gospel.

generally in a wall at the east end of the nave. In the sanctuary are recesses for the paten and chalice and for the oil.

The bema is a narrow area between the wall of the sanctuary on the east side and a dwarf wall on the west. This dwarf wall extends the whole width of the nave, when the baptistery is in the alternative position described above. On the north and south this wall has projecting altar-like blocks on which the books, etc., are kept. In the gangway in the middle corresponding with the door of the sanctuary is a quasi-altar on which stands a cross. The bema surviving at Mosul clearly is nearer the original platform described by the commentators on the Liturgy than this narrow area.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITOR'S NOTE.—We intend in this review of certain periodicals of the past year, not so much to criticise their contents as to give our readers an idea of current opinion on Eastern Church matters. Comment of course will be necessary on occasion.

CATHOLIC REVIEWS

Irénikon. Since with their March number the monks of Amay begin a new decade of their apostolate for reunion, we gladly take this opportunity of thanking them for the light and encouragement which their periodical has been to their fellow-labourers, and of wishing them an ever increasing fruit in the decades to come.

Each number contains about a hundred pages devoted to reviews and to a chronicle of current events, including in 1936 fully documented studies of the Anglo-Rumanian *rapprochement*, the apparitions at Maglavit, the continued schism between the Metropolitan Eulogius and the Synod of Karlovtsy, the declining atheist movement in the U.S.S.R., and appreciations by their own disciples of various Orthodox prelates who have died, including the late *Œcumene* Patriarch and the Metropolitan Antony of Kiev. May they rest in peace!

The first number also contains a comparison by Dr. A. Bawmstark between the almost exclusively court functions on Palm Sunday at New Rome and the more popular liturgy of the Eternal City; while Madame E. Behr-Sigel contributes in this and the May number two more of her fascinating studies in Russian hagiography. Taking St. Theodosius as most representative of the eleventh century monastic movement in South Russia, her thesis is that it was the Palestinian monasticism, purified from the exaggerations of Egypt and Syria (perhaps a permissible generalisation), that appealed to the early Russian monks. As the authoress describes their love for the Christ of the Gospel with his poverty and lowly toil at Nazareth, we cannot help being reminded of our own early Anglo-Saxon monks, but also of Archbishop Szeptycki's Studites on the Borders of the U.S.S.R. In the second article St. Sergius is taken as the obvious example of the fourteenth century hermits who first penetrated into the great forests of the North, and consecrated by their lives of prayer those very isles of Solovetzky which were destined to be the altar on which Holy Russia was to consummate her holocaust of pain.

In the March number Dom O. Rousseau analyses the symptoms of a movement towards reunion astir in the world through the Christian consciousness of an objective Revelation, a more inspiring article than those in the next issue, in which Professor M. Zzykin describes the sufferings of the Orthodox

Church from nationalism, and Dom Th. Belpaire the "comprehensive" attitude of the late Dr. Randall Davidson towards reunion with other churches.

The July issue is more historical. Dr. Ziegler of Munich utilises the great research work of H. E. Cardinal Mercati to give us a quite convincing rehabilitation of Isidore of Kiev, and promises to show in a subsequent number that, as so often, it was politics that were responsible for his failure to establish the Union of Florence. Readers of Karl Pfleger's "Wrestlers with Christ" will be interested in his essay on the problem of union *à propos* of M. Oskar Bauhofer's recent book "Einheit im Glauben."

The September number is largely devoted to an outstanding article on the Orthodox Ecclesiastical Books by no less an authority than Professor Pantelakis himself. And finally, in November, M. Lot-Borodine contributes a lucid explanation of the symbolism of the Theandric Heart of Christ in the works of the fourteenth century mystic Nicholas Cabasilas.

DOM JULIAN STONOR.

Echos d'Orient. The article which, to our mind, stands out in the admirable four numbers of *Echos d'Orient* for 1936 is that called "Le christocentrisme de Nicolas Cabasilas" by S. Salaville. The doctrine of the Mystical Body is of paramount importance to-day, and here we are given the magnificent exposition of a Byzantine theologian whom no Catholic writer on the subject can afford to neglect, and whom—with certain honourable exceptions like the late Père de la Taille—they have until recently tended to pass over. We note especially the beautiful and significant teaching on Christ as the Heart of the Mystical Body. In the divisions made by the Scholastics this rôle was reserved to the Holy Spirit. But where all human analogies, even those of Scripture, are inadequate, we welcome a doctrine which associates and works upon the two expressions "Head" and "Heart." Moreover Cabasilas was very near to our Western devotion to the Sacred Heart. Perhaps we may be allowed to suggest that Père Salaville or some other competent theologian should expand this study into a book, to the great profit of souls and union of minds. It might also serve well for several doctorate theses. Père Salaville has flanked his article, which appears in the April—June number, by the publication for the first time in the January—March number of a Christo-centric prayer by Nicolas Cabasilas, and in that of October—December by vindicating him from a charge of inconsistency, which had arisen through a mistaken identification.

There are several other articles of obvious importance.

Père Jugie appears twice in the July—September number, and each time on subjects of which he is an acknowledged expert. First it is to produce more Greek witnesses to the Catholic faith in the procession of the Holy Spirit through the Son. As he says this ancient question has lost much of its controversial importance since certain modern Russian theologians who thus rejoin the conclusion of the debate of the Council of Florence have recognised that only a diversity of formulae is involved. Yet it is useful to have three more testimonies so clear as these from Apollinarius of Laodicea, Leontius of Byzantium and St. Anastasius I of Antioch. Perhaps Père Jugie's second article, which is on the Epiclesis, has a still higher value, partly on account of the general critical considerations with which he introduces his subject, but also because of the positive evidence which that subject provides, for St. Fulgentius represents the tradition of the African Church, and he is clearly shown to have assigned not a consecratory but an impetratory character to the Epiclesis, and to have derived its institution from Our Lord's prayer *after* the Last Supper.

The article "L'archevêche d'Ochrida de 1394 à 1767" in the April—June and July—September issues, makes a really notable contribution to Bulgarian Church History *à propos* of Ivan Snégarov's great recent work in that Archdiocese. It contains a tragic and moving story of Turkish oppression, and interesting accounts of those holders of the See who submitted to Rome. It would be untrue to say that the motives of these were always political. In some cases their personal lives go to attest their genuineness, but others were decidedly entertaining, though quite unedifying adventurers. The commentary on Snégarov's book is original, useful and wide.

These scholarly pages contain many articles which are the fruit of careful original research. V. Grumel continues his Notes on Byzantine chronology, and his "La chronologie des évènements du règne de Léon VI," which issues in some new conclusions, and "Sisinnius II" are especially to be remarked. They are both from the January—March number, which also contains "La Chronologie des patriarches de Constantinople de 995 à 1111" by V. Laurent. He points out the gaps in the ordinary reference books, and calls attention to the importance of the Catalogues, which have been insufficiently explored. To the same number he contributes an account of the archaeological work at Constantinople in 1935. There are other articles for the Byzantine archaeologist, and perhaps he will find an especial allure in A. Vogt's "A propos des fouilles de M. Baxter. Une hypothèse."

Among the reviews of books, we have noted those of V. Grumel on the edition of "Constantin Porphyrogénète : Le livre des Cérémonies" published by M. l'abbé Vogt, and of V. Laurent on Mr. William Paine Hatch's two volumes, "The Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament at Mount Sinai" and "The Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament in Jerusalem." It is most interesting to discover from a review that the *Summa Theologica* is being translated at Athens, even if as yet it is imperfectly understood.

The grave pages of *Echos* suddenly glance and sparkle with the delicious answer "A propos de Georges Moschampar, polémiste antilatin. Notes et rectifications" by V. Laurent, who explains the recent attack upon himself by M. Bolides and Mgr. Chrysostom Papadopoulos. It is very amusing reading. We judge that under the circumstances the author may justly say :

Cet animal n'est pas méchant ;
Quand on l'attaque, il se défend.

DOM RALPH RUSSELL.

L'Unité de L'Eglise, published every two months by La Bonne Presse, 5 rue Bayard, Paris VIII, costs 9 francs a year, and the illustrations alone are worth the money. Its contents may be roughly divided into : apologetical, historical, and news of the Eastern Churches, Catholic and dissident (with occasional excursions into English or continental Protestantism). Under the first head Father Salaville contributed an article to the March—April issue of 1936 on testimonies to the primacy of St. Peter found in the Ethiopian *Synaxarion*, and in July—August Mr. Michael Christian wrote on Christ as the head and principle of unity of the Mystical Body, making an effective *catena* of quotations, principally from the New Testament and St. Thomas Aquinas.

One of the most interesting historical contributions of the year was Mr. Girard's (September—October) on John Gerson and the unity of the Church, based on a sermon of Gerson concerning the reunion of the Greeks, first published in full by Prince Augustine Galitsin in 1859. There have been further instalments of the series called "The Golden Age of Latin Missions in the East," consisting chiefly of extracts from the letters of seventeenth—eighteenth century Jesuits ; they bear testimony to the far freer religious relations that subsisted between Catholics and dissidents then than to-day ; Latin priests made no difficulty about preaching and even hearing confessions in Orthodox churches, nor the Orthodox in allowing them. On the seventh centenary of St. Sava, Father Belard gave an account (May—June)

of the life of the great Serbian bishop, who is revered by Catholics as well as Orthodox in Jugoslavia; dissident scholars now admit that he was in communion with the Holy See in the person of Pope Honarius III.

Current news has particular reference to the dissidents of the Greek and Melkite Churches, with which the Assumptionist fathers at Constantinople are in close contact, and the last issue of the year contained a full and clear account of the alleged miracles and visions at Moglavit in Rumania: it seems that Catholic as well as Orthodox opinion is divided about them; the general impression from a distance is one of delusion and hysteria. Orthodox Action is described by Father G. Antoniau in the May—June issue, with special reference to the "Zoe" movement in Greece, and there are the usual valuable items about events and persons in the Catholic Churches of Eastern rite.

DONALD ATTWATER.

The Voice of the Church (April—December, 1936). A monthly magazine published by the Czech Benedictine Fathers of St. Procopius Abbey, Lisle, Ill. (U.S.A.).

It is printed in two columns, one side in Slavonic, with English on the other. The object is to create a better understanding between both the Catholics of the Oriental Rites and the Orthodox on the one hand and the Latin Catholics on the other, a very worthy object indeed.

This monthly is not so concerned with giving news of current events in the Eastern Churches as with the treating subjects that help in some way to bring about a better understanding. Hence the contents of *The Voice of the Church* is given over to articles.

On the whole these articles are of a rather popular nature, approaching questions of doctrine and of controversy both in a friendly and simple manner.

Such are a series of articles entitled *Two Friends* by the editor. They consist of an imaginary conversation between an Orthodox doctor and a Catholic priest. In this way the main classical dogmatic differences between Rome and the Orthodox are discussed. Sometimes there are articles by Orthodox, e.g., *Is it possible for the Eastern and the Western Church to Unite?* by the Rev. Basil Gokens, an Orthodox Russian priest. This article is said to have been read at Velehrad, but one would like to have dates and references given.

In the September—October issue there is a quotation of an article of Bishop Leotius from *The New Russian World* where the Orthodox Bishop is reported to have said "that

the union of the Churches would be possible if to the authority of the Pope will be united the consent of the General Council acknowledging the Eastern Church."

This review only came into existence in April, 1936. We wish it every success. There is a great field of work before it.

One note of warning we would give: some of the more recent articles are rather of a combative nature where one would the better gain one's point if a simple setting forth of Catholic truth and an attempt to understand the Orthodox position were more strictly adhered to.

DOM BEDE WINSLOW.

Russie et Chrétienté continues its excellent work of studying Russian development at first hand and giving its readers not only opinions but the facts on which these opinions are based. Thus in the January number (1936) an article by Prof. N. Timachev studies in detail the effects of Bolshevism on the life of the peasant from its first nationalization projects of November, 1917, through the New Economic Plan of 1923 and its repeal, "the liquidation of the Kulaks" in 1929-30, and consequently the second series of famines of 1932, 1933 to the present movement in favour of collective farms against state farms. "Un retour au niveau de vie déjà atteint avant la Révolution n'est maintenant que l'objet de beaux rêves."

The May—June (1936) number is noteworthy for a remarkably able article by which J. Danzas brings to a conclusion her series of essays on the history of the Russian Orthodox Church. "L'Eglise russe orthodoxe dans la tourmente" describes in a masterly manner how the religious spirit of the Russian people largely remains unbroken in spite of two decades of persecution and the unhappy schisms of the leaders of the Church. "Ainsi le régime de persécution a engendré un mouvement religieux qui n'est pas seulement un grave danger pour lui-même, mais aussi pour l'Eglise russe"; for the new sectaries will be as impatient of hierarchical guidance as they now are of state interference. The same writer has an even more striking account to give in the following issue (July—August, 1936) of the Catholic body in Russia, briefly sketching its history from the thirteenth century to its apparent extinction in our own day. The same issue contains in its "documentary" section an appalling indictment of the moral chaos into which the godless state must inevitably fall: namely the decrees—and comments on them in the official Russian press—by which Stalin is trying to restore to the family some of the stability and dignity

which is its due. Nevertheless we would warn readers that after all the Bolshevik ideology has not yet penetrated far beyond the big cities ; the peasantry have still the Christian traditions of their fathers, and the saner family life that is its concomitant.

The September—December (1936) issue contains documents relating to the latest ideas for Bolshevik education —former schemes have broken down, and education even in Russia must ultimately return to more traditional methods. Finally we may congratulate the management of *Russie et Chrétienté* on their removal to Paris : at once a sign of success already in part achieved and encouragement for the future. Paris is in truth the intellectual centre of Russian thought to-day, and this review will be able both to receive and to contribute very largely to the common good in that city. (Its new address is 39, rue François-Gérard, Paris XVI).

DOM THOMAS RIGBY.

NON-CATHOLIC REVIEWS

The Christian East. Vol. XVI. Nos. 1-2, 1936.

The subjects of some of the articles in this double number are dealt with elsewhere in this issue, or have been commented on in one or other of last year's numbers, e.g., "The Rumanian recognition of Anglican Orders," "Report of the Conference at Bucarest," and "Conference of Orthodox Theologians." This therefore leaves us with very little to speak about.

There is a full account of the Rumanian Patriarch's visit to England at the end of June. The obituary notice of the Armenian Catholicos-Coadjutor of Sis, Bishop Babgen Kulesarian, is a very interesting appreciation of his life and the work he did in the regeneration of his stricken people. Book notices and a few notes on the activities of the Association complete the contents.

The remaining issues of 1936 have not yet appeared.

Sobornost, March—December, 1936 (Nos. 5-8).

In the March issue Nicolas Berdaev writes on *War and the Christian Conscience*. He traces the Christian attitude to war in history and comes to discuss the modern conditions of warfare. In the long concluding paragraph he writes : "War can only cease finally when the sovereignty of national

states is overthrown and a federation of nations established. This will represent a recovery from the disease of *étatisme*. There should be national cultures, not national states."

The interesting historical sketch of *The Russian Church* by G. Fedotov begun in 1935 is concluded in the March and June issues. He deals with the two revolutions, the Great War, and then brings his account up-to-date.

In the September number "Sobor" shows the real unity of tradition between East and West in the position of Our Lady. The feasts considered are those of Candlemas, Lady-Day, the Visitation, Nativity and the Conception. Portions from the patristic homilies of the Roman Breviary are translated.

After the same manner, but not with so happy a conclusion, Patrick Thompson treats with the vexed question of Purgatory in the September and December numbers.

There are other articles all in keeping with the objects of the Fellowship, viz., to get to understand each other's religious belief and background. Hence such articles as *Anglican Ritual Variations* by the Rev. G. A. C. Whatton (June issue), *Notes on the Slavophil Movement* by Nadejda Gorodetsky (December issue) and others.

But there is another very interesting side of *Sobornost* apart from its articles, that is its record of the activities of the spread of the Fellowship.

In March there is mention of their Paris Conference, Stoke Conference, the meeting at Torquay, organisation of a branch fellowship in Rumania, a notice of the appointment of the Rev. Ambrose Reeves, one of the early leaders of the Fellowship, to the post of Secretary of the world's Student Christian Federation whose field of operation will be in the Balkans and the Anglo-Saxon world.

In June mention is made of the Conference at Digsell Park (on April 16th to 23rd), and a complete account of the Secretary's Diary from January 1st to May 1st. This includes visits in Norwich, North and South Shields, Leeds, West Bromwich, Nottingham, various towns in Wales; St. Andrew's University where some seventy to eighty Presbyterian Ministers attended; Edinburgh, Glasgow, Welwyn, Herts, and Mirefield. Both the September and December issues give similar lists of places visited and the untiring energy of Dr. Nicolas Zernov.

I stress this because I think it is time Catholics realised the really great headway that is being made in the Anglo-Orthodox rapprochement, and the Fellowship represents the rank and file of the movement.

DOM BEDE WINSLOW.

Father Sergius Bulgakov and Sophianity.

There are references to this in *Irénikon, Christian East and Sobornost* for 1936. On account of space we will deal with this question in the July issue in which same issue Dom Wesseling will be treating of the problem of the Sophia in Soloviev.

EDITOR.

Bread of Heaven, October—December, 1936.

This is a Russian monthly review published at the Convent of Our Lady of Kazan, Harbin. The articles are written for the most part by the professors and students of the theological faculty of St. Vladimir's Institute in the same town.

We specially call attention to the following contributions. The Archimandrite Vassily Pavlovsky advocates that Russian Orthodox outside of the U.S.S.R. should form themselves into groups prepared to fight against Atheism. This he considers can be done by giving these groups a good grounding not only in the main truths of religion, but one that will give them a real formation based on the best spiritual books and an understanding of the Liturgical Tradition. The Archimandrite then proceeds to examine the governments of various countries in relation to their attitude to Christian or Atheistic principles.

There is an article on Russian hagiography, with some account of recent miracles wrought through the intercession of St. Nicolas and St. Panteleemon.

Professor Raisky gives an historical survey of Orthodox church music. He contrasts the beauty of the ancient and simple Byzantine modes with what he calls the *laicised music* of the eighteenth century.

There is a series of articles on non-Orthodox religions, including Catholics, and the Christians of St. Thomas in India.

In another interesting series on Religion and Science, Father Serichoff deals with the question of miracles in a very convincing way.

I.P.

The Orthodox Observer, a periodical in Greek, published fortnightly by the Greek Archdiocese Publications Association, New York. pp. 16. Annual subscription \$2.00—foreign \$2.50.

This paper is remarkably well produced; it is of a convenient size to hold and it is printed in type delightfully clear to read. The cover is illustrated with an interesting portrait or the reproduction of some work of ecclesiastical art.

Amongst the numbers constituting the second volume (1936) there are leading articles on the death of the Patriarch,

the need of Apostolic action, a certain aspect of the Vatican, mutual support of parishes, the Orthodox Church in Albania and the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, subordination of ideology and other subjects of current or topical interest. Each number contains a sermon on the Sunday Gospels. Theological articles, often appropriate to the liturgy of the season, include those on Lent as a moral reconstitution, the Cross and its more profound significance, the anatomy of the soul of Judas, the symbolism of the vine, the power of the Church, the superhuman God-Man, common expectation of life and many ascetical themes. Historical articles treat of such diverse subjects as American Puritanism, Joseph of Arimathea, and the Greek Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity in New Orleans.

Education, sociology, catechetics and the solution of liturgical and various other questions come within the scope of the paper. On the literary side there are stories and plays usually given in serial form. The text of encyclical and other important letters is provided, besides obituary notices, marriage announcements and a variety of items of ecclesiastical interest.

DOM PAULINUS IEVERS.

A TOUR IN THE BALKANS

HAVING occasion during the summer to preach a week's retreat to the Community of Oblate Sisters of the Assumption (who, since 1925, have been in charge of a "pensionnat" at Belgrade), I had the pleasure of making a most interesting tour of the Balkans.

I was able to visit Belgrade, the Capital of the Tri-une country, which still mourns the death of King Alexander. Belgrade is becoming modernised, holding as it does an important position at the confluence of the Rivers Sava and Danube.

The organisation of the Catholic Church in the capital of Yugo-Slavia is of recent origin. There is an archiepiscopal See, the present Archbishop being Mgr. Roditch, O.F.M., a zealous and saintly prelate. Having visited America and travelled in England, he speaks English fluently.

The capital is divided into five parishes, one of which is served by the diocesan clergy and the other four by various religious orders, Assumptionists, Franciscans, Jesuits and Vincentians. Up to the present the Catholics of the Slavonic Byzantine rite have no church of their own, their services being held in the parish church of the Assumptionist Fathers. There is plenty of work to be done here. If in England we deplore the "leakage," we can do so here as well. Mixed

marriages constitute a great danger, many Catholics being lost to the Faith on that account. It is interesting to note that the vernacular, *i.e.*, Serbo-Croat, is permissible for liturgical services. At a Missa Cantata the priest sings the Epistle and Gospel in the vernacular, a special edition of the Missal being provided. The whole "Rituale Romanum" is in Serbo-Croat. By granting that privilege, Rome managed to bring about a happy reform of the various Rituals used in the different dioceses. Of course, I am not speaking of the Missal and Breviary in Glagolitic used in certain parts of the country. Perhaps a strict liturgist would oppose the use of the vernacular in the various services, but if he were to assist at Mass, or Benediction, or Vespers in Croatia, he would be delighted to hear the whole congregation praising God in a language they understand. I was not able to come into contact with any members of the Orthodox clergy: that remains for another occasion.

In Belgrade I saw for the first time stained-glass windows in a Byzantine Church, *i.e.*, at the Patriarch's Cathedral. The church is rather small for a patriarchal See, but it is pretty enough and well cared for. The Holy Synod hopes to be able to build a huge basilica dedicated to the national hero, St. Sava, who lived and died in union with the Holy See. (See the article recently published by Père Belard, A.A., in *L'Unité de l'Eglise*). Up to the present the administrative centre of the Serbian Orthodox Church has been at Karlovits, but the Government, desirous of exercising its influence over ecclesiastical affairs, has had a magnificent "patriarchate" built opposite the former cathedral. Thus Belgrade will become the true centre of Serbian Orthodoxy.

While travelling through Backa on my way to Novi Sad, I passed through Karlovits, and I regret not having been able to visit its churches and monasteries. Karlovits is also the ecclesiastical centre of the Russian emigrés living in South-Eastern Europe. I was greatly impressed by the large number of Russians living in Belgrade, and still more by the misfortunes that have befallen them and their unhappy country since the Bolshevik Revolution. I had the opportunity of assisting at Solemn Matins in the Russian Orthodox Church at Belgrade. It is hard to describe how they prayed: they seemed to put their heart and soul into the responses to the Ecteny *Gospodi Pomiloui*. God will surely hear their prayers and restore "Holy Russia" once more to her pristine beauty.

While in Yugo-Slavia I came into contact with the Catholics who follow the Byzantine Rite, Ruthenians for the most part. They all belong to the diocese of Krizevici. This was founded in 1610 with the centre at Svidnic and the monastery Marca the bishop's residence. In 1778 the See was transferred to

Krizevici, and all Oriental Catholics living in Yugo-Slavia now belong to that diocese. They number about 55,000 and use Slavonic as their liturgical language, with the exception of two parishes in the Banat in which Roumanian is used.

I had the great pleasure of spending a very agreeable day at Novi Sad with the Rector of the Ruthenian parish, Dr. Pavic, a very learned priest. It was on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul (old style), and after assisting at the solemn liturgy with one of my *confrères*, we were received with the utmost kindness by Dr. Pavic and his family. We spoke mostly in Latin, as I must confess that I could not understand either Ruthenian or Serbian. French also was spoken by those who took part in this little family gathering. *En passant*, I must pay a tribute to the Catholic clergy in Yugo-Slavia who speak Latin as their mother tongue. Generally priests from our countries speak a "Latin de coquina," and this amuses the priests of Central Europe. I remember Mgr. Niaradi, Oriental Catholic Bishop of Krizevici, telling me how surprised the clergy of Zagreb were when they received the visit of Cardinal Dubois and other French prelates. The latter preferred to use their mother tongue in conversation, and the good bishop, who speaks Latin fluently, as well as Ruthenian, Serbo-Croat, Hungarian, German and Italian, added with a smile: "Vix poterant aliquot verba dicere." This reminds me of the story of a Croatian Franciscan who, while travelling to U.S.A., had to comply with some local police regulations. As he was unable to understand what the police officer wanted, he managed to convey to his hearers that he would like to speak to a Catholic priest. The nearest Catholic rector was called to the Police Station and being somewhat taken aback at the fluent Latin spoken by the Franciscan Friar, could not answer. The good Friar became in the end so indignant that he shouted: "Maledictus sit episcopus qui te ordinavit, quia nescis loqui latine!"

On leaving Novi Sad, we spent a few days at Ruski Krtsur, the centre of a very important Ruthenian colony, founded in 1751 by Marie Thérèse. It consists of 5,100 inhabitants, with a protopope and two curates. This is the description of his parishioners which was given me by one of the curates: "Fideles sunt in 99% agricultor. Optimi operarii, apud alias nationes valde estimati et quæsiti. In vita sunt simplices, conservati, cum paucis contenti. In labore diligentibus, in necessitatibus constantes, in divitiis temperati, corpore validi, sub respectu biologico et economico expansivi. In fide firmi, animo devoti, in moribus boni, habent propriam physionam bene et clare exactam in sensu nationali et confessionali, ideo rejiciunt omnem influxum alienum, quapropter haud invenitur casus renegationis in rebus fidei vel nationis. E contra omnes

advenæ diutius in Ruski Kerestur degentes, assimilantur in Ruthenos, sic Hungari etiam ante bellum et Serbi et Croati etiam nunc."

I shall never forget the kindness of the clergy and laity (intelligentsia) of Ruski Krtsur. They treated us as if we were members of the parish. We had the great pleasure of meeting Mgr. Niaradi, their Ordinary, who had come from Krizevici to preach a week's retreat to a community of enclosed Basilian nuns. Anyone would have been impressed by this holy prelate who is so learned, apostolic and pious. He reminded me of Mgr. Nicolescu, the newly appointed Catholic Roumanian Metropolitan of Blaj, whom people call the "brother of the Poverello of Assisi," as they are alike from so many points of view. We admired the local Ruthenian clergy. Priests and laymen from the neighbouring villages paid us a visit and thus showed how touched they were by the sympathy we extended to their nation and church. Latin was used as the medium of conversation, although my *confrère* spoke Serbian now and again. As I listened to the village schoolmaster speaking Latin, I thought:—How many professors, let alone schoolmasters, would be able to speak Latin so well! Before leaving Ruski Krtsur we had a photograph taken as a souvenir of our visit to "Little Ukrania."

I had to leave Belgrade as I was due at Sophia, the capital of Bulgaria. My stay in Yugo-Slavia remains a pleasant memory. The people are most sympathetic when they get to know one. They are industrious, disciplined and patient, determined to uphold their rights in the face of opposition.

After a long night's journey I arrived at Sophia at midday. Although fasting I was not able to say Mass; my friends would not allow me to go to a church, so I had to give in.

Although Sophia is not situated on the Danube, it is, from another point of view, even better placed, as it stands over 600 metres above sea level and is in the midst of the Vitosh Mountains. Even at mid-summer there is a pleasant cool breeze which is refreshing and prevents one from stifling. Sophia has two Catholic bishops, Mgr. Peef, O.F.M.Cap. (who spends a part of the year at Plovdiv), and Mgr. Kourtef, ordinary of the Bulgarian Catholics of the Byzantine Rite. Each bishop has his small cathedral, rather too modest in my opinion; but the Church is still at Bethlehem, rich only in the Real Presence and in the True Faith. I called on Mgr. Kourtef whom I had met at Belgrade on his way to Velehrad, and who had just returned from the Congress there for the Union of the Churches. He was quite pleased with the results, as it is one of the best means of knowing and understanding one another. He also spoke of his own "pusillus grex," so sorely tried by three successive wars and unjust

attacks. His clergy are very poor yet they are all happy, for they know that their own pastor leads a life of voluntary poverty and monastic austerity.

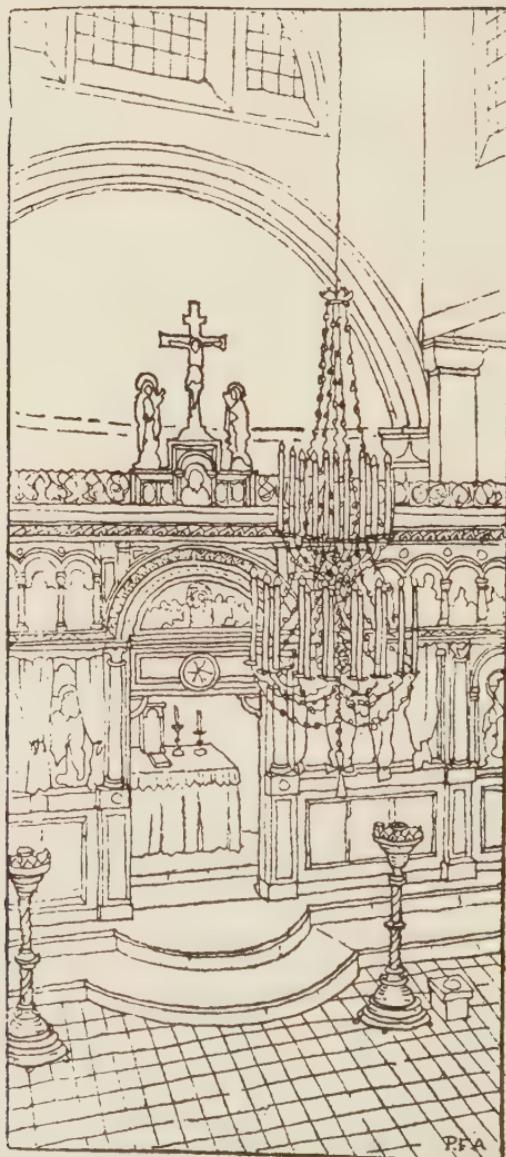
I spoke to Mgr. Kourtef about the Carmelite nuns who have adopted the Byzantine Rite. He told me how he trusts that the presence of contemplative nuns in his diocese will bring God's blessings on himself and all his undertakings. Before I left I asked the bishop to bless the EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY and all its readers.

I had occasion to visit the Carmelite nuns of the Byzantine Rite. They are indeed the true daughters of their saintly "Madre Theresia." Their poverty is extreme, but their joy is greater still. I was able to speak to the Mother Prioress, who told me all about their life in the "Carmel of Reunion." Like their sister, St. Theresa of Lisieux, they would not change their life of want and hardship for all the gold in the world. *Beatae, quoniam Deum videbunt.*

Sophia is rather a small town, but it can boast of having the biggest and most beautiful church in the Balkans, St. Alexander Nevsky, the Bulgarian national votive church, erected in thanksgiving to God for the recovery of their lost independence. It is simply magnificent, although it is a matter for regret that one's view, on entering the cathedral, is obstructed by the massive columns. The frescoes and mosaic engravings are most beautiful, combining the Old and New Testaments with the History of the Church and the religious history of Bulgaria. Not far away from St. Alexander's Church is St. Sofia's, an old Byzantine church dating from the fifth century. It has recently been completely restored. It was here that I met a gentleman, a friend of my *confrère*, who told me how he deplored the schism that still separated East and West, and how he was longing and praying for the day when once more *unum erimus*. May God hear his prayer.

After spending several days at Sophia, which is quite an ancient town and at the same time very modern, I left for Philippopoli, or Plovdiv. Here I was quite at home, as my *confrères* are directors of a great Catholic college and are in charge of the parish of the Byzantine Rite. If the founders of the Assumptionist missions in the Near East were to return, they would not recognise Plovdiv. The first Catholic school in the country was built by these holy religious who were Jacks of all trades and masters in all. Their ambition was to give the oppressed Bulgarians of the Latin Rite the opportunity of being educated and, later on, of helping their fellow-countrymen. The elementary school, begun in 1865 by Père Galabert, was followed by a secondary school under the patronage of St. Austin. The elementary school was handed over to the diocesan clergy in 1900, the Fathers devoting their

energy and funds to the direction of their college and to the administration of a parish of the Byzantine Rite that they had recently founded. To-day the visitor may admire the present college built during and completed after the Great War. Six hundred boys receive there a thorough Christian and national education. A beautiful Oriental Church attached to the college allows the boys of both rites to assist at ceremonies in the Eastern Rite. They also assist, on certain feast days, at



Church of the Ascension, Plovdiv, Bulgaria.

Solemn High Mass in the Latin Rite, thus acquiring a knowledge of both rites, *quod est desiderandum*. St. Augustine's College is renowned throughout the country, and since its establishment (1885) has given a good number of leaders to Bulgaria; men who do not forget that they are Christians, and if Orthodox, they show their sympathy towards the Church to which their professors belonged.

Plovdiv contains a very important group of Latin Catholics called Pavlicans, and most of the villages round the town are Catholic. The Capuchin Fathers have worked very hard for the preservation of the Faith among their fellow countrymen. Their efforts have been rewarded, for the Pavlicans are very fervent Catholics. Certain parishes have been entrusted to the local diocesan clergy who are few in number as there is no seminary. One of Rome's principal preoccupations is the training of a native clergy for both rites in a single seminary, for this would mean a great economy of money and staff.

After spending nearly a fortnight in the mountains with my *confrères* (for the heat below in Plovdiv was simply unbearable), I left for Varna, a pleasant sea-side resort on the Black Sea. Since the War, the town has lost its commercial importance as a port, and has been changed into a fashionable "plage." Northern Bulgaria forms a separate Vicariate entrusted to the Passionist Fathers of the Dutch Province. They have a nice parish church at Varna with two priests and a brother. The Assumptionist Fathers also have a big public chapel of the Latin Rite and are able to help their friends the Passionist Fathers. The Oblate Sisters of the Assumption have a flourishing High School which affords a good Christian education to their pupils. There is a small group of Catholics of the Byzantine Rite and an Assumptionist Father acts as their parish priest. They have no church of their own rite, but their services are held in the chapel of the Assumptionist Fathers.

At Varna I met a very sympathetic Orthodox priest, former Vicar General of the diocese, who had to resign on account of his Philo-Catholicism and a conflict with his bishop. He will shortly be received into the Church if he has not already been received. God grant that many others may follow his example.

On leaving Varna I took the train for Bucarest, and after crossing the Danube soon arrived in this pleasant city. I shall not attempt to describe my impressions as there would be so much to tell. In another article I shall try to tell readers of the EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY of certain Church events in Roumania which are likely to interest them. Until then I can but urge our readers to pray without ceasing that soon East and West may be united *in veritate et caritate*.

AUSTIN TREAMER, A.A.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

In regard to the illustrations of this issue we thank both Father Treamer for the photographs and Mr. Peter Anson for the sketches that he has made from three of them.

UNION OF PRAYER FOR PEACE.

The realization of the motto of the Pope—the peace of Christ in the kingdom of Christ—must be the hope and the ambition of every Catholic; and however we may differ as to the natural means to be employed in working for that end, there can be no room for disagreement, in these days especially, as to the essential importance of the supernatural means, the duty of prayer. It is desirable that this prayer should be, as far as possible, corporate; and to this end it is suggested that Catholics enrol themselves in a Union of Prayer, by promising to say, every day, at least one decade of the rosary or its equivalent, or, for small children, the Hail Mary three times. We shall be praying, not merely for the absence of war, but for the peace of Christ, the unity which comes of justice and charity, both among the different sections of society in our own country and among the nations of the world. Once every month, Mass will be offered for this intention, and that all members may share together in it, the register of their names will be placed upon the altar. For this purpose, those who are willing to join in this work are asked, as sole condition of membership, to send their names on a postcard to: Father Gerald Vann, O.P., Blackfriars School, Laxton, Stamford.

This appeal has received the full approval of His Grace the Archbishop of Westminster and of His Lordship the Bishop of Northampton.

ATHENS.

The first Conference of Orthodox Theologians met at Athens at the end of November. We give a summary of the programme as set forth in *The Christian East* (Vol. xvi, Nos. 1 and 2, January—July, 1936), by Professor H. Alivisatos.

“Position of Theology in the Orthodox Church.

- (a) Definition of the fundamental principles of Orthodoxy.
- (b) Scientific work on Theology and Church Authority.
- (c) Precision of external influences on Orthodox Theology, especially since the fall of Constantinople, namely :
 - (1) Roman Catholic
 - (2) Protestant
 - (3) Philosophical
- (d) Orientation of modern Orthodox Theology towards Patristic theology in relation to the adoption of modern views and methods.

(e) Mission of Theology to enlighten the conscience of the Church and public opinion.

Theological presuppositions of Church problems.

(1) The problem of convoking an Ecumenical Council.
(2) Ways to positive intercommunion between the several Orthodox Churches and of applying their decisions on more general and urgent Church questions (such as calendar, marriage of the clergy, fasting) in the case of the postponement of the Ecumenical Council.
(3) Immediate services of Theology to the Church.

Place of the Theological University Faculties within the framework of general scientific work.

Desiderata.

(1) Theological review.
(2) Interrelations of Theological Faculties."

We are told that no matter in what language the proceedings may be conducted, they must eventually be translated into one of the three official languages of the Conference, French, German or English.

In addition to this, we first give the substance of an account by Mr. P. N. Trembelas, a member of the *Zoe Brotherhood* at Athens.

The following Orthodox theological faculties of university standing were represented: Athens, Bucharest, Chisenau, Cernauti, Warsaw, Sofia, Paris and Belgrade. The papers read were on such a variety of subjects that the element of discussion was reduced to a minimum. This first Congress aimed rather at making contacts, demonstrating the solidarity of the Orthodox Churches, and showing an interest in the scientific and practical questions of the day, than a deep and systematic study of any one branch or problem of Theology.

At this first meeting of Orthodox theologians a great measure of agreement was shown in their desire to develop along the lines of the classical doctrinal tradition of the Greek Fathers and to eliminate the Roman Catholic and Protestant elements which had been introduced into Orthodox Theology.

But at the same time it was felt that while striving to return to the pure Patristic tradition this should be done in accord with the modern scientific spirit.

The *Ecclesia* (Athens) of December 12th, 1936 gives fuller details. Here is a summary of the more important conferences.

In dealing with Biblical criticism Professor Vellas considered its relation to ecclesiastical authority. His conclusion was the necessity of criticism in biblical studies but that this should develop within a purely Orthodox framework. Professor Antoniadis (Athens) speaking of the methods to

be employed said that they were related to certain theological pre-suppositions ; viz. (1) that Divine Revelation is contained in the New Testament and in Holy Tradition, (2) that the Church as guardian of Divine Revelation is herself the critic of the text of scripture etc., (3) that the New Testament was itself divinely inspired. Professor Kartaschoff (Paris) pleaded for freedom in the study of theology and argued that as investigators are guided in their researches by their own convictions so are theologians by ecclesiastical tradition, he then examined revelation as handed down in the Church by Tradition.

The third conference treated of the external influences on Orthodox theology. Professor Diouvouniotis (Athens) having given the historical reasons why there were both Latin and Protestant influences in Orthodox theological thought said that such teachings should not be rejected outright and simply because they were taken from Western sources but they should first be carefully examined and sifted because some of this teaching was based on that of the ancient Church. He pleaded that theological investigation should proceed slowly. Professor Florovsky (Paris) treated the subject with special reference to Russian theology.

At the conference concerning the summoning of an Ecumenical Council the conclusion arrived at was that quite apart from certain difficulties this was not the time to do so. First there were no important dogmatic questions to provoke the calling together of such a Council. And then that they were not prepared. The exact position of the Latin Church and the Protestants to the Orthodox Church would want careful consideration and there was also a great need for better general education for Orthodox clergy.

The next subject was the means of agreement between the different Orthodox Churches and concerning the arriving at decisions outside a General Council. Professor Alivisatos thought that such questions as the reform of the Calendar, date of Easter, etc., should be decided through correspondence between the several Orthodox Churches. He however laid down these conditions : that such questions should be of a general nature requiring the solution of the whole Church, that decisions should not be taken by particular Churches by themselves, and that these decisions should be confirmed by the future General Council.

There was a very interesting conference on Home and foreign missions. Dr. Ispir (Bucharest) said that it was through missionary work that the Church attained Catholicity so that there could be "one flock and one shepherd." He suggested that each autocephalous Church should develop its own missionary activity and that some way should then

be found to unify these local endeavours. In the sphere of home missions the Church ought to strengthen the inner life of modern youth and assist the suffering classes, and strive to bring about a co-operation between capital and labour. Professor Alivisatos said that the present time was favourable to work for an understanding between the Orthodox and the Armenians and Copts and also to spread the gospel in Mahomedan lands. Professor Moraitis (Athens) dealt with the Church's work of preaching and catechising.

The following resolutions were drawn up.

1. That the published full report of this conference shall serve as a basis for further research by future Orthodox Theological Conferences.

2. It registers its desire for the codification of the Sacred Canons.

3. For the revision of the text of the Liturgical Books.

4. For the publication of an international Orthodox Periodical.

5. For co-operation between the Orthodox Theological Faculties.

6. That the feast of the *Three Holy Heirarchs* (January 30th) be kept by all the Theological Faculties.

7. Its desire for co-operation, in a spirit of Orthodoxy, with the OEcumenical Movement.

8. Its sympathy with the persecuted and martyred Church of Russia.

9. That the next Conference will be held at Bucharest in 1939 and that it will consider : The Sources of the Orthodox Faith, i.e., Holy Scripture and Holy Tradition, and also the social mission of the Church.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SIR,

In answer to the two points raised by Damescene. Firstly, I must unfortunately have to agree that the Orthodox generally perform the sacred duty of preserving the traditions of the rite better than Catholics. But because they do a thing it is not therefore permissible or correct. Of course the Holy Liturgy can be abbreviated, Eastern Canon Law concedes more than the Latin upon this point *But this should be exceptional*. The importance of the eikonostasis cannot be overestimated, it is one of the most ancient and universal features of the rite and there should be no Liturgy without one except for very grave reasons.

Secondly, Papal legislation decrees that all Catholics who belong to an Oriental Rite should retain their rite even if

they are forced by circumstances to practise according to the Latin Rite. Now from a layman's point of view, what are circumstances that justify practising according to the Latin Rite? My contention is that where the clergy, generally through ignorance of their rite, and almost always in face of strong opposition from the laity, persist in introducing crude latinisation the unfortunate layman has either to submit to having his cultural standard lowered in every respect or to go into schism or to adopt the Latin Rite which is the logical sequence to "uniatism." This is most evident to anyone who has travelled in countries where such a state of affairs exists.

I should like to supply many illustrations to enforce my point, but I am afraid that the EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY is already so popular that there are many calls upon its space.

Yours etc.,

Rome. February 25th, 1937.

EDWARD BOWRON.

This correspondence is now terminated.

The suggestion of Mr. V. J. Kisilewsky seems to us the best way of solving the problem as regards Catholics of the Byzantine Rite. But until the authorities see their way to establishing a permanent Byzantine priest in England as much advantage as possible should be taken of the periodical visits of Father van den Bossche who is appointed to look after the Ukrainians in England. He is only too willing to lend his services in any way that may be desired. His visits generally take place at the beginning of the year (the feasts of the Nativity, New Year's Day and the Theophany), for Holy Week and Easter, and again for the feast of the Falling Asleep of the Mother of God.

But apart from Catholics of the Byzantine Rite living in England rumour hath it that there are a number of Armenian Catholics resident in this country. We would be grateful to any of our readers who could supply us with information on this subject.

EDITOR.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

S.P.C.K. are publishing a series of twenty-eight essays to consider the problems of the Union of Christendom for *The International Committee of the Church Union*. The essays are 4d. each. Those we have before us are excellent.

The division between East and West. (Section II), 2, by A. Hamilton Thompson (Professor of History in the University of Leeds).

This is a brief setting out of the history of the Schism. The author is very generous in his recognition of Rome's position. He says: "It is certainly remarkable that Constantine, when he removed his capital five years later (i.e., after 325), did not transfer the spiritual primacy of Rome to the newly founded see of Constantinople. Had he done so, it would have been in keeping with the imperial attitude

to the relations between Church and State, and no earthly power could have hindered him. But, if Constantine did not bequeath to the successor of St. Peter that Italian heritage which was embodied some centuries later in his so-called Donation, he at any rate did nothing to impair the position of the Roman pontiff. It was only for a few years that the centres of temporal and spiritual power coincided in Rome, and, when the imperial dignity of the city became a name, the apostolic see survived there as a reality."

Post-Reformation Developments. (Section II), 4, by Rev. T. M. Parker.

The pamphlet is divided into four sections. *The Roman Catholic Church, Protestantism, The Anglican Communion and the Eastern Orthodox Church.* All these sections are very well treated, that dealing with the Orthodox Church is naturally the shortest. Two remarks however are interesting : "With him (i.e., Cyril Lucar) died any serious movement towards Protestantism in the East." And : "the rise of Slav influence in the Orthodox Communion in fact has had the effect of diminishing the points of resemblance between Eastern and Western Catholicism, as can be seen from the writings of the Slavophil theologians like Khomiakoff."

In treating of the Anglican Communion the author has some words of vital importance ; speaking of the growth of the Liberal or Modernist Movement he says : "It has invaded, too, the other two parties in the Church of England, so that side by side with the 'Modernist' party proper, there are groups of Liberal Catholics and Neo-Evangelicals whose outlook has been considerably modified by the influence of Liberalism. At the present day the Church of England thus consists of three main schools, the Catholic, Modernist and Evangelical, Modernism acting as a mediating term between the other two."

We are pleased to see reference in the section dealing with Catholics to the Uniate Church, and also to the present Liturgical Movement.

The Roman Catholic Communion—Uniate. (Section III), 1(b), by Sir Stephen Gaselee.

This pamphlet we welcome, a most unexpected surprise. It forms a companion to 1(a) *Latin* (this pamphlet has been delayed in the press). It is a most thorough and sympathetic treatment of the subject. One or two other points we think might have been stressed. The author states that the Ruthenians and the Melkites recite the *Filioque* in the creed. We think it should have been stated that the recital

of the *Filioque* is not incumbent on any Byzantine Catholic unless its omission would cause scandal.

In speaking of the governing body of the Uniate Churches it was quite right to describe the Oriental Congregation in Rome, but some little account should have been given of the six Uniate Patriarchs, for they for the most part rule their patriarchates quite independently of the Roman Congregation. The Oriental Institute ought also to have been mentioned.

The Eastern Communions. (Section III), 2, by Rev. D. J. Chitty and Rev. Canon W. A. Wigram.

We think there are few Anglicans who treat of the Orthodox with such a true touch or who can describe their mentality so well as the Rev. D. J. Chitty. His portion of this pamphlet is of the greatest value.

Canon Wigram treats of the doctrinal position of the Lesser Eastern Churches.

Some Aspects of Contemporary Greek Thought. By Frank Gavin, Th.D. pp. 430. 10s.

This is photographically reproduced from the first edition of 1923. It is a pity that we could not have a new edition and one brought up-to-date. But when practically all the current Orthodox theological and philosophical literature in English is from the Russian school, the present book is of the greatest importance.

Origen on First Principles. By G. W. Butterworth, Litt.D. pp. 334. 12s. 6d.

We will review both these works in the July issue.

B.W.

Αἱ Τρεῖς λειτουργίαι. By P. N. Trebela, Athens, 1935.

This work gives the texts of the three Byzantine Liturgies of Chrysostom, Basil, and the Presanctified according to the manuscripts preserved at Athens with copious dissertations in the footnotes. The text is preceded by the Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy.

The author, though dealing primarily with Athenian documents, refers to the Barberini Codex of the eighth—ninth century and a Grottaferrata manuscript of the ninth—tenth century as well as to the Slavonic versions of the Liturgies. It is to be regretted that he makes no use of the Melkite Syriac texts which present variants of considerable interest. For the Syrian Liturgy he relies largely on Renaudot, who makes no distinction between the Maronite and Jacobite Rites.

On page 111 a serious blunder occurs, the author taking as the genuine work of St. Irenaeus the sentence ἐκκαλοῦμεν τὸ ἄγιον Πνεῦμα κ.τ.λ. This is the forgery of the Lutheran Pfaff in the eighteenth century. The word "epiclesis," of course, in the early centuries most certainly was not confined in meaning to what was known in later times as the Invocation of the Holy Ghost.

In spite of these blemishes the author is to be congratulated on his work. The Greek type is admirable.

H.W.C.

Religions of Mankind. By Otto Karrer, Translated by E. I. Watkin. (Sheed & Ward). pp. 288. 10s. 6d.

In this book we have a much needed and excellent work. It is divided into five parts :

Part I. The Range of Religion throughout Mankind. Here are shown the notions of God in the various religions.

Part II treats with the Origin of Religion.

Part III. The later development of religion in human history, and

Part IV. A comparison of Religion.

The last part (Part V) is divided into two chapters : *Revelation outside the visible Church* and *Salvation outside the Church.*

In the last chapter of Part IV, *The Supremacy of Christianity*, a very important point is stressed :

"Bonaventure stands besides Thomas, as Plato besides Aristotle—representatives of two ways in which reality can be experienced. If the latter system is superior in logical exactness, the former, a system of Christian Gnosis and mysticism has been found by savants such as Aufhauser the ideal channel through which an intellectual rapprochement between East and West may be effected."

In the last chapter the author gives a survey of the ecclesiastical documents bearing on the subject of salvation outside the Church.

"Throughout the entire body of doctrinal pronouncements there run two distinct and seemingly conflicting series of utterances. The one proclaims the exclusive possession by the visible Church of truth and saving power. The other tells us of an invisible Church spread over the earth with power to save its members inasmuch as all who are in good faith and not responsible for their errors may belong spiritually to the Church, and so reach heaven. Neither of these two series taken by itself and to the exclusion of the other represents the full Catholic doctrine."

One more quotation :

" In so far therefore as a particular religious body is un-Catholic or anti-Catholic, it cannot, according to Catholic belief, be a channel of grace and salvation. But only *in so far as* it is un-Catholic or anti-Catholic. For of all the religions of mankind not one is wholly un-Catholic or anti-Catholic, wholly opposed to the Divine truth."

In addition to the text there is a very full bibliography. It is a book that every Catholic interested in the spread of the Kingdom of God should read.

B.W.

Fire on Earth. By P. H. Fursey. (The Macmillan Company, New York). pp. 156. 8s. 6d.

A very excellent book setting forth the basic and supernatural foundation of Catholic Social Action. It ought to be produced in a shilling edition. The Orthodox so often consider Catholic activities to be without any deep spiritual foundation that it is a pleasure to be able to call their attention to this book. For this reason we have asked an Orthodox to write its review.

The book of Dr. Fursey can be recommended to all students of Christian Sociology. It is clear, logical, and not encumbered with statistics and technicalities.

The purpose of the book is to outline a genuinely Catholic system of sociological thought; and it has certainly attained this end.

The first chapter defines Supernatural Sociology, its theory as found in Scripture and in Tradition and its practical application in the lives of the saints. An explanation is given as to why Catholics have not been united in their methods of meeting the Social Question.

The second chapter deals with divine Grace without which it is impossible to live as Christians, and this has been very similarly dealt with by the late Metropolitan Anthony and the Archimandrite Kirik of Mount Athos. The chapter on the Mystical Body of Christ is exceptionally good and especially in its treatment of the sociological meaning of the liturgical movement. The chapters on *Bearing Witness* and *The Technique of Non-Participation* should be well studied. In the last chapter Dr. Fursey admits the difficulty of living the full Christian life to-day, but at the same time shows that there is a spiritual joy which justifies all sacrifices.

It is a pleasure to record that the author is a member of the International Academy of Christian Sociologists. There is consolation in the fact that in social problems the unity of Christians (Catholics, Orthodox and Anglicans), is very striking.

SERGE BOLSHAKOFF.

Missionaires de Saint Paul. (Couvent de St. Paul, Harissa, Lebanon. n.p.).

We have received from its headquarters at Harissa in the Lebanon a short account of the progress of the congregation of Missioners of St. Paul, founded in 1903 by that holy Melkite bishop Germanos Muakkad of Baalbek, who died in 1912. For some years the congregation made very slow progress, but since the Great War its numbers have risen to seventeen priests and half-dozen lay brothers. The fathers are engaged in preaching, work for the reconciliation of the Orthodox Melkites, and the diffusion of the printed word. From their press at Harissa have come excellent new editions of Byzantine liturgical books, historical publications, and general religious works, and the fathers edit and publish *Al-Masarrat*, the official monthly review of the Catholic Melkite patriarchate.

These missioners have been the clergy chiefly concerned in the 10,000 reconciliations of Orthodox Melkites that have taken place in the eparchies of Tripoli, Homs, and Damascus, and in Transjordania, where the patriarch has erected the new eparchy of Amman, during the past several years. Whole groups of families have been drawn to union with the Catholic Church by the lamentable state of affairs in the Orthodox patriarchate of Antioch.

The brochure is amply illustrated and full of most interesting information. One of the objects of its publication is to appeal to the generosity of Latin Catholics to help with their alms a work of charity that is sadly handicapped by lack of temporal means. We remind our readers that the Melkites of Transjordania live under the British Palestine mandate.

D.A.

The Chrysostom, 1936. (324 River Ave., W. Aliquippa, Pa., U.S.A.).

This monthly is splendidly carrying on its good work by making Latin Catholics really aware of their brethren of the Oriental Rites.

One of the chief features of this year's issues is a simple yet detailed setting forth of the Byzantine Liturgy (not yet completed). There are also other articles on the Liturgy that to some extent overlap this actual series.

Another attraction of this paper are its illustrations; there are plenty of them and they are pleasing.

Also it is nobly entering into the field of all the Eastern Churches and not confining itself only to those of the Slav Byzantine Rite.

The notes on current books and contemporary events are interesting.

B.W.

The Liturgical Year. A study circle outline. Published by the Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minn. (U.S.A.). pp. 16. Price 5 cents.

This is an excellently planned little pamphlet. It would be most useful for all Catholic centres of education for young people.

There is a list of reference books given; this list could be added to or in other ways adapted to use in English Catholic Schools or among University students.

Orate Fratres. The Tenth Anniversary number. Published by the Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minn. (U.S.A.). Price 50 cents.

Orate Fratres still remains the outstanding liturgical review in the English language, although *Magnificat* (whose new issue January, 1937, shows signs of an enlarged contents) approaches the subject in a more traditional English way.

This tenth anniversary number is in every way excellent. The whole map of the liturgical field of subjects seems to be dealt with.

These years of continued propaganda are beginning to tell on English-speaking Catholics, and the Liturgy is at last realised to be what indeed it is, the complete Catholic life.

Orate Fratres is also in some ways popularising the great scientific liturgical studies of the Abbeys of Maria Laach and of Mont César, Louvain. May it continue to carry on the good work!

B.W.